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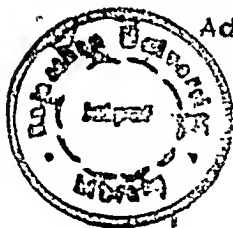
Whither Pakistan



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Publisher

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Maj, Asit Kumar Ghosh



This book is dedicated in the memory of my beloved friend **Maj Asit Kumar Ghosh**, who was killed in action against Pakistan's aggression and thus sacrificed his life for the cause of world peace, truth and justice.

About this Book.

Contents of this book are based on some articles and speeches of prominent Indian and foreign Statesmen. Some chapters of this book are also a collection of some news items from the different newspapers of India as well as of foreign countries.

The purpose of this small book is to give a true account of hate India Movement of Pakistan, and how present leaders of Pakistan snatched power and suppressed democratic forces in Pakistan and also how a military dictatorship was established to achieve the selfish end- how Pakistan started hostilities against India to divert the attention of themiserable people of Pakistan in the name of Islam- how Pakistan mischievously deceived her Western Allies to secure arms, ammunition and economic aid and thereafter joined hands with communist China? All these topics have been dealt with briefly in this book.

Today Pakistan has become a danger for the peace & Tranquility of the world. It is the sacred duty of every peace loving Nation to stop the war hysteria of self styled leaders of Pakistan. No doubt, people of Pakistan particularly masses of East Pakistan are not happy with the war mongers of Pakistan but they have been forcibly dragged in it. The only solution to save Pakistan from the Bloody Jaws of these war mongers of Pakistan is to unite India & Pakistan once again, so that the artificial barriers between India and Pakistan may not be able to divide people of one blood and one nation into two nations. The creation of Pakistan was based on the mischievous policy of divide and rule by the foreign rulers. I hope readers of this book will appreciate my honest point of view and judge the contents of every chapter of this book with the spectacles of truth & honesty.

—P. C. Azad.

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Behind the Scene

After the revolution of 1857, the British Government came to this conclusion that it was not possible for the Britishers to retain India till the Hindus and the Muslims may not be divided in two camps because in the revolution of 1857, both the Hindus and the Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the regime of East India Company. Therefore, the British Politicians, in consultation with some members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, chalked out a definite and secret plan to rule India for ever. Two important declarations were made on behalf of the British Government by Queen Victoria. In the first declaration it was emphasised that India will be governed directly by the British Government and not by the East India Company. In the second declaration it was announced by the Queen Victoria that the Government will respect every religion, caste and community and will give equal opportunity to all. In the garb of these two declarations the British Parliament took over the reign of the Indian Government in the name of British India.

In these days the British Imperialism was in its full swing and throughout the World she had larger colonies in the undeveloped countries like Africa and Asia. The principle of the British rule in every colonial country was to divide and rule and this policy too was adopted by the Britishers in India. First of all they exploited the Muslim sentiments against the Hindus and employed some Mullas and Pandits to give opinion in the administration of law and justice. The British officers in India in exploiting the religious sentiments of the two communities virtually divided the whole of India in two sections: Hindus and Muslims. Not only this but separate enactments were made for both the communities so that they should not be combined for any purpose, and some prominent persons in India were encouraged financially to establish separate educational, Political and cultural organisations for both the communities; with this sort of encouragement from the British Government the Hindus and Muslims began to feel that they were culturally divided and separated from each other.

The British Government in the shape of reform introduced separate electorate system

for the Hindus and the Muslims, for creating tense feelings between the two communities, and they also patronised and financed some capitalist Muslims who established an organisation of reactionary and feudal Muslims to create hatred and ill will between the two communities in the name of Muslim League. All this was done by the British Government to strengthen the British rule in India. The Muslim League under the Leadership of Mr. Jinnah, who sometimes, was a veteran congressman and exponent of Hindu Muslim unity began to make intensive propaganda of hatred and communal tension among the masses in India, and the British Government encouraged this propaganda in their own interest. Every time when the Indian National congress under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi demanded self determination and independence for India, the British Govt. always took the excuse that the Muslims of India did not want and did not support the demand of congress for freedom or Swaraj and, therefore, the British Government always rejected this demand for the freedom.

After the 2nd World War when the British Government weakened and the Nationa

sentiments began so high in India that even the Indian Army revolted against the British Regime, and it became impossible for the British Government to continue British Rule in India. The people of England and other countries of World also supported the cause of India's independence, but inspite of it the Prime Minister of Britain Mr. Churchill rejected the demand of independence of India and publicly announced that he did not want to become the first Prime Minister of Britain to preside over the liquidation of British Empire. But when conservatives were defeated after 2nd World War in the general election in Britain and Labour Government came in power, they felt it impossible to continue as rulers in India. They were compelled to concede the demand of the Indian leader for India's complete independence, but as a reward of cooperation of the Muslim league in opposing non Cooperation movement in India and helping the war efforts of the British Government, Britain assured the Muslim league to grant the demand of Pakistan to them.

The British Government conceded Pakistan for two main reasons, one reason

was that the Pakistan would be a British pocket in Asia to exert its influence in the countries of the Asian continent. The other reason was this that relations between India and Pakistan would be so tense that within a short period both the countries would again request the British Government to stage a come back and to rule India. No doubt the communal hysteria and two-nation theory of Pakistan tried to create every sort of trouble. And a large number of minorities in Pakistan were compelled by the Muslim league Govt. to flee from Pakistan and take refuge in India. But India very patiently and calmly allowed to settle these refugees from Pakistan in India. In Pakistan sometime public and opinion was created against the Muslim league and the people began to realise the losses of communal infrenzy and hatred, some of the Muslim leaders in Pakistan openly denounced the two-nation theory. The Muslim League became so nervous in Pakistan that they with the conspiracy with British Statesmen tried to create some trouble in Kashmir and Hyderabad to divert public opinion. An 'organisation' in the name of Raza ar supported by the Muslim league of

Pakistan was formed and in Kashmir some Tribes elements supported by the regular military of the Pakistan created trouble. The rulers of both the States later on understood the conspiracy of Pakistan against their State, and Consequently Maharaja of Kashmir signed an instrument of accession with India and acceded their State to India. At the time of accession the Pakistan Army in the name of raiders advanced in some portion of Kashmir. It is stated that when the Maharaja requested the Indian Government for help to oust the raiders from their territory, the British Commander of Indian Army opposed the idea of help to Maharaja but the Indian leader emphatically announced to help the Government of Kashmir and to send Indian Army to oust the raiders at all costs. The Governor General of India, in these days was Lord Mountbatten, a British representative formally known as Viceroy, he on, the advice of the Prime Minister of India accepted the instrument of accession signed by the Ex-ruler of Kashmir, and thus the British conspiracy against India was not succeeded, and the Pakistan could not annex the State of Kashmir as she desired. India approached

the Security council of United Nations against Pakistan who was an aggressor in Kishmir. Security Council decided to request both India and Pakistan to cease fire in Kashmir and the decision of the Security council was accepted by India.

Pakistan did not admit any Pakistani soldier in the raiders, in the first meeting of the Security Council, but when some U.N. observers were sent to supervise the cease fire line between India and Pakistan, and these U.N. observers saw a large number of Pakistani soldiers on the front then the Pakistan was compelled to admit the entry of Pakistani soldiers inside Kashmir territory. Inspite of this admission by Pakistan the Western powers i. e. U. K. & U. S. did not condemn this action of Pakistan in Kashmir and nor they declared Pakistan as an aggressor. Not only this, but when the leaders of the National Conference who took the reign the Govrnment. of Kashmir disclosed the atrocities and horrors committed by Pakistan inside Kashmir at the time of invasion were not even condemned by the British or United States. Sheikhi Abdullah who

became the first Prime Minister of Kashmir after the cessation of the hostility and invasion declared emphatically that Pakistanis destroyed the property, houses and other belongings of even the poor Muslims and burnt the holy book of Quran and set mosques on fire. He also said that due to these atrocities "the grave of Pakistan will be made in the valley of Kashmir." Although now the Pakistan Government is in favour of release of Sh. Abdullah but they forgot what verdict was given by Sh. Abdullah against the invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan. Many innocent persons were murdered by raiders and worst type of atrocities were committed which were unknown in the twentieth century of the World. All the civilized nations including Russia condemned these atrocities and sent messages of sympathy to the Government of India. The Western Powers by means of hooks & crooks passed a resolution to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir with the condition that Pakistan may withdraw his forces for creating the situation in the country for holding the plebiscite but even this condition which was imposed by the western countries on the Kashmir was not fulfilled

and they did not press for the fulfilment of the conditions by Pakistan. But, contrary to this, they began to harp the slogan of the plebiscite without asking Pakistan to fulfil the conditions imposed on her prior to plebiscite, Pakistan intentionally did not provide the facility and did not withdraw the forces from the Kashmir border to hold the plebiscite in the peaceful condition. On the other hand India with her honest intention and without awaiting so long for the withdrawal of the forces of Pakistan constituted a constituent Assembly with the consent of the people of Kashmir, and on the basis of the decision of this Constituent Assembly India arranged to hold General Elections in Kashmir. This Assembly which was a true representative of the people of Kashmir unanimously gave its verdict to accede Kashmir with India finally and, therefore, Kashmir was acceded to India legally and finally. This accession of Kashmir to India was accepted almost by all the neutral and impartial countries of the World, and declared that Kashmir is an integral part of India. But U. K. which has a bad design against India could not console herself with this verdict of the people

of Kashmir. and she in collusion with Pakistan tried to support Pakistan against India on the issue of plebecite. The U. S. also want her influence in Asia against some communist powers. Therefore, she thought it a good opportunity to support Pakistan against India to fulfil her military and semi-military establishment inside the territory of Pakistan to maintain her influence and superiority in the eyes of Asian countries.

Bloody Plot to Oust Minority

Pakistan in collusion with some Western powers tried to chalk out a bloody plot for squeezing out all the minorities from the territory of Pakistan. Pakistan also tried to send some spies to exploit Muslims in India and to create troubles in Kishmir. Some of these spies with the help of some pro-Pakistani elements in India tried to disturb the peace in India. In some places country bombs were thrown to create the terrors in the minds of the people in India. Some plots for the murders of some leaders in India were also organised by the Saboteers of Pakistan. Unfortunately India was attacked by the Chines forces in October, 1963 and due to the border conflict between two countries, Pakistan tried to please China for creating pro-chines and anti-Indian feelings in Pakistan. Some demonstrations were organised inside Pakistan in favour of China and against India, and a slogan was raised that because India is in trouble, therefore Pakistan must capture Kashmir by force "Kashmir is now or never" this was the slogan

throughout Pakistan. Not only this but to please China, Pakistan handed over 12,000 K.M. land of occupied Kashmir to China inspite of the strong protest of the Indian Government. The Dictator of Pakistan treated the minorities of India on the same lines as Hitler treated the Jews of his country. Riots were encouraged in every part of Pakistan to terrorise the minorities and not only Hindu or Sikh minority but even Christians who were always faithful to Pakistan Government were forcibly ousted from Pakistan. A series of murder of minorities was allowed by Pakistan Government. Some of the instances are quoted herewith regarding the atrocities of Pakistan on minorities after Ayub Khan assumed the power of dictatorship and became the President of Pakistan by suppressing the democratic forces in Pakistan. A prominent English journalist Thou Edward who spent the last four years in East Pakistan as a visiting professor of Dacca University, has written the following article on the hate India movement of Pakistan:

"Existence as nation based on 'hate India' concept

EAST PAKISTAN today is a region where almost every aspect of life conspires to produce a situation devoid of hope.

An impecunious province carved in 1947 out of undivided Bengal, it lies beneath the Himalayas in the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta between Assam and West Bengal, a low-lying riverine country beset by periodic floods, monsoons and poor soil.

East Pakistan's population density, over 1,000 persons per square mile, ranks as one of the highest in the world and the region's 30 million Bengalis have increased in number by almost 25 per cent in the last decade, with no sign of any surcease. This factor alone is likely to nullify the benefits of foreign economic aid. Birth control programmes have made little headway, especially since the Bengali Muslim has a fatalistic attitude. He believes children are a sign of the blessings of Allah, and large families bestow prestige upon a father.

Floods and cyclones destroy property every year, but no effective steps have been taken to control their damage. Milk supplied by CARE and thousands of wollen blankets donated by the U.S. for flood victims can be bought openly on the black market. Bengal's

upper classes are complacently indifferent to the loss of life and farmlands among the peasants. Flood relief funds are frequently diverted from their rightful beneficiaries.

A New Class

SINCE 1947, a new class of rich industrialists from outside the province has built up the jute trade lost to India when the sub-continent was partitioned. The social changes resulting from superimposing technology and industry upon an essentially feudal society have been sufficient to disorganise the life of the province. Dacca, the urban capital presents a bizarre spectacle of western modernity combining uneasily with the rural East. In 15 years it has been transformed from a sleepy hinterland town to the administrative and commercial centre of East Bengal.

Living conditions in Old Dacca are overcrowded and disease is rampant. With more than 12,000 persons per square mile, the area resembles London of 300 years ago before the Great Fire. An epidemic of smallpox in earlier this year resulted in 900 known deaths in one month; untold others were not recorded. While the epidemic was raging, the first session of Pakistan's National Assembly five miles away was engaged in endless speech-making, but almost the only legislation passed was a bill to raise the stipends of delegates.

Weird Contrasts

DACCA'S streets present weird contrasts: bullock-carts and Chevrolets, rickshaws and jeeps, a new

atomic research centre, and weatherbeaten mosques, an impressive hospital run by American Catholics and road side lockups where homoeopathic "doctors" sell their nostrums. In the new residential districts, Pakistani landlords are fast growing rich from exorbitant rents charged to Americans employed by the Agency for International Development, the Ford Foundation and U. S engineering firms on contract to build dams, bridges and factories. The sudden injection of millions of dollars in various aid and development projects has disrupted the social structure and economy, producing a new elite of experts who enjoy a level of luxury living they could never afford back home.

Foreign Aid

THE real impact of foreign aid is difficult to evaluate. but it would be hard to defend the thesis that East Pakistan's economy or living standards have been appreciably improved by the millions invested thus far. On the contrary, the the life of the Bengali farmer is harder than it was 10 years ago, and there is firm evidence that some of the aid funds have been misused. The Water and Power Development Authority, a multi-million dollar project, is only one of several instances where U. S. funds have not produced the expected results partly because of large-scale mis-appropriations.

Corruption

Corruption in East Pakistan is openly acknowledged and cynically accepted as a governmental way

of life; a system of baksheesh, bribery and kickbacks is firmly entrenched. Nevertheless, the disposition of aid funds has not been adequately supervised by U.S. officials. Many of the 500 Americans in Dacca are unhappily aware that their efforts to develop the economy are yielding no tangible results and that the Pakistani authorities with their practised skill at grasping every chance to enrich their own pockets, have stolen American money. Nor is there the slightest evidence of appreciation for the millions that have been given. Indeed many Bengalis still find the concept of aid difficult to comprehend and question the motives behind the U.S. programme.

Lawlessness

SINCE the end of martial law in 1962, conditions in the province have worsened progressively. An atmosphere of lawlessness exists that the police are powerless to cope with. The last university Commencement ceremony had to be cancelled for fear of student demonstrations or riots against the Government and during the academic year 1962-63 classes were in session for only 62 days. The authorities are afraid to act against the students, who represent one of the few literate segments of the population and thus have the potential for wielding influence in their home villages.

Over 80 percent of Bengalis are illiterate. The poverty of the peasants has to be seen to be believed.

Their small-holdings of rice and jute are uneconomic rice production has not risen sufficiently to provide adequate sustenance for the peasants and their families and inflation has brought added hardship. The authorities deny that East Pakistan has a food shortage, but in many villages the situation is so desperate that peasants are eating grass and roots.

Discontent

THERE is rising discontent that would probably erupt into violence, were it not for the apathy induced, by malnutrition and Muslim fatalism. Many Bangalis have told me that conditions in general were immeasurably better under the British regime, and that personally they are far worse off now than before partition. A severe taxation policy specifies that even the villager who owns a chicken has to pay a tax on it.

Attempts to introduce co-operatives into East Pakistan have met with indifferent results, mainly because the spirit of co-operation has never taken root here. Harsh economic conditions preclude the idea of mutual self-help and Islam has not fostered attitudes of cooperative endeavour. Outside the family circle, East Bangalis live by a jungle code, putting their wits against each other rather than against nature.

No ethical code

ISLAM as practised in Pakistan enjoins no ethical code that might affect daily dealings between Pakistanis. Its stress is on the outer observance, the five daily prayers the Ramadan fasting period and occasional almsgiving. Apart from the apathetic fatalism it endangers Islam is not a cohesive force in Pakistan. A great gulf exists between the Western-educated intellectual and the peasant, underlining the lack of agreement as to what the true function of Islam should be.

Only two things unite East Pakistan today: a sense of hopelessness concerning the national future, and resentment of India. Many Bengalis privately admit that partition was a profound mistake from which they have gained nothing. When asked what the future of East Pakistan is likely to be, they shake their heads and answer, "God knows."

An undefined segment of Bengali would prefer to be re-united with India; it looks to Calcutta as its Mecca a political fact that is disturbing to the authorities in Rawalpindi. "We have to hate India," "for without that we would have no reason to exist as a nation."

Ill-assorted group

In a very real sense the East Pakistanis today, like their counterparts in West Pakistan, are not a

nation but an ill-assorted group of divergent element divided against themselves, disunited except for a negative attitude to India. Pakistan was not ready for nationhood in 1947, and it is still not ready. President Ayub Khan is the one leader who shows any statesmanship but he is like a man in search of a country. He is resented by many Bengalis because he is from West Pakistan, and the animosity shown to the West wing in Bengal rivals the resentment against India. The two wings are not in any sense united.

Not a few U.S. aid workers have returned home from East Pakistan in recent months with deep misgivings about the wisdom of giving millions of dollars to a people whose defiant ignorance, fatalism, and extreme backwardness render them painfully ill-equipped to help themselves or face the realities of the twentieth century. The outlook for East Pakistan is dark and grim. Quite apart from the Chinese danger only 300 miles to the north, there is no prospect that conditions better.—*The new Leader.*"

Even papers of foreign countries also condemned this attitude of hatred against India by Pakistan ;

"German Paper Indicts Pakistan For Hatred Against India

NEW DELHI April 3.—The west German paper, Die Welt, has severely indicated the Pakistan Government for fomenting hatred against India and Nehru for he personifies the glory of India"—in blatant disregard of the country's real interests.

In a dispatch by its correspondent, who recently visited Pakistan, the paper says that the reason d'être of Pakistan was hatred; now hatred of India is being utilised to keep the country together.

The paper says " Pakistan owes her existence to the thesis that he who believes in another god ought to have his own state. From such a starting point it is immense difficulty to adjust oneself to the twentieth century. States like India or Turkey, where religion and state are not lumped together, are in a much better position."

Ayub's Motive

Analysing the motive of the Ayub regime in instigating riots in East Pakistan, the paper says these were intended to thwart separatist movements in the eastern wing where the people have become painfully conscious of the economic and political inequalities. "A survey in Pakistan showed that statistically West Pakistani consumes nineteen times as much tea and gasoline, six times as much cigarettes, three times as much textiles and sugar and twice as much paper and coal as the East Pakistani."

The paper adds that this regional disparity "Would threaten the entire state far more if India was not there. India is the cramp. It is in fact the fear, and one hardly can avoid the term hatred, against India which keeps essentially together the state of Pakistan. If India did not exist, many Pakistani politicians would invent her."

The plight of minority in East and West Pakistan is so terrible that even in the Lok Sabha it became the subject for hot discussion. The climax of this tragedy reached when even fleeing refugees of Christians and Hindus were butchered by the rifle men of Pakistan Government. Mrs. Laxmi Menon Minister for External Affairs Govt. of India gave the details of the killing of the refugees in the Lok Sabha in the following words :

"Refugee Children Killed In E. Pakistan Firing

NEW DELHI, Feb. 26.— Mrs, Lakshmi Menon, Minister of State for External Affairs, said in the Lok Sabha to day that eleven refugees were injured and two children between the ages of three and four were killed "In a barbarous act of indiscriminate firing by men of the East Pakistan Rifles" on a defenceless group of refugees numbering about one thousand while they were crossing into Assam from East Pakistan on February 6.

The refugees, who included women and children, were crossing the Indo-Pakistan border near Bhoga-irghat, under Dalu police station (Garo Hills district) from the Mymensingh district of East Pakistan.

Mrs. Menon was making a statement in reply to a call attention notice regarding the reported firing by Pakistani armed forces on refugees coming into the Garo Hills of Assam on February 6 and 7, 1964.

Appeal To E. Pakistan

Mrs. Menon's statement about the killing of children by Pakistanis was received with cries of "Shame" from all sides of the house. The minister said that the Government of Assam, while reporting the details of the grave incident to the chief secretary Government of East Pakistan, in their telegram dated February 7, appealed in the name of humanity to put

an immediate stop by issuing strictest possible orders to your E. P. R. (East Pakistan Rifles) personnel not to fire at or forcibly prevent panic-stricken refugees entering our territory."

Ministry's Note

Mrs. Menon said that the Ministry of External Affairs had also presented a note to the Pakistani Deputy High commissioner in New Delhi on February 13 reminding Pakistan of its responsibility to restore communal harmony in East Pakistan and referring to the shooting incident as 'cold-blooded murder'. The note, she said, requested the Pakistan Government to put an immediate halt to these acts "by meting out the starkest possible punishment to those responsible for this heinous crime."

The minister said that it had also been "firmly impressed" upon the Pakistan Government that in the view of the Government of India, the refugees pouring into India in their thousands from East Pakistan "are being driven out by calculated communal frenzy and that the Government of Pakistan must now accept the full responsibility for the immediate restoration of communal peace and harmony which is the touchstone of future co-existence between the two countries."

Asked by Mr. Barua whether the Pakistan authorities had been approached with the request that India should be allowed to give armed protection to the refugees crossing into Indian territory, intervened to say that no country would give its consent to this."

(N. Herald 29-2-64)

"Pak Firing Killed 2 Refugees, Injured 11

NEW DELHI, Feb 26—Cries of "shame" rose in Lok Sabha to day as the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, informed Members that two children between the ages of three and four had been killed and at least 11 persons injured in a "Barbarous act of indiscriminate firing" by East Pakistan Rifles on a batch of defenceless fleeing refugees on February 6.

Making the first authoritative statement in the House on this shocking outrage, the Minister said that the Assam Government had telegraphically appealed to the East Pakistan Chief Secretary "In the name of humanity to put an immediate stop by issuing strictest possible orders to your EPR personnel not to fire at or forcibly prevent panic-stricken refugees entering our territory."

The matter came up before the House—20 days after the incident—in the form of a call-attention notice by Mr. Hem Barua (PSP). Mrs. Menon stated that the union Government had been informed by Assam that on February 6 evening East Pakistan riflemen opened fire while 1000 refugees from Mymensingh were crossing the border near Bhogaighat under Dalu P. S. in Garo Hills. The injured persons and the dead were carried by the refugees to Dalu.

For the first time the Government gave out today that the Ministry of External Affairs had also presented a note to the Pakistan Deputy High commissioner in Delhi as early as on February 13.

Indian Note

This note referred to the shooting incident as "Cold-blooded murder" and requested the Pakistan Government to put an immediate halt to these acts by meting out the sternest possible punishment to those responsible for this heinous crime."

The Minister said that the note also "firmly impressed upon the Pakistan Government" that in the view of the Union Government the refugees pouring into India in their thousands from East Pakistan "are being driven out by calculated communal frenzy and that the Government of Pakistan must now accept the full responsibility for the immediate restoration of communal peace and harmony which is the touchstone of future co-existence between the two countries."

(Indian Express 28-2-65)

In the riot which broke in the East Pakistan on the month of January 64 according to the American Peace Corps sources it was reported that 1000 murdered in the communal riot in a week in the city of Dhacca and 600 fatalities were admitted in Dhacca Medical college. The diplomatic sources of America admitting this fact gave the following report regarding the killing of minorities and even attacking the minorities in the moving trains.

"1,000 Died in Riots In E. Pakistan

DACCA, Jan. 22—At least 1,000 persons were killed in communal riots here last week, authoritative sources reported.

An American Peace Corps nurse, breaking the official curtain of silence on the casualties in last week's communal violence, said yesterday there were 600 dead at Dacca Medical College hospital alone.

These facts emerged as the army brought Dacca and neighbouring Narayanganj fully under control.

The Peace Corps nurse, who reported the 600 fatalities, was one of several, who, with missionaries, bore much of the chaotic strain on medical resources. Hospitals were choked with wounded arriving in truckloads during the mass killings and burnings of homes, businesses and whole villages.

Commenting on the riot casualties, diplomatic sources said "the total death figure is probably double the 600 at the Dacca Medical College hospital and is at least 1,000.

A Pakistan Army officer, on the scene, reportedly put the deaths at "the order of 1,000." The majority of those killed were women and children, the authoritative sources said.

Moving Trains Attacked

Diplomatic sources confirmed reports that even moving trains were attacked by "hooligans." A train at Tejgaon, near Dacca was stopped and 400 persons were stabbed, sources said.

An estimated 500 persons were killed in the Rayer Bazaar area on January 15 and 250 houses were destroyed. Another 150 houses were destroyed in another market area.

Foreigners and many Muslims sheltered Hindus and several Muslims were killed for doing so.

Meanwhile, in Kerachi and new Delhi, British and U.S. envoys sought to persuade the Pakistan and India Governments to reduce tension between the two countries.

British and American representatives were reported not over hopeful as they sought to arrange ministerial-level talks between Pakistan and India and a "moratorium" on inflammatory statements by the press and public leaders.—Reuter."

(N. Herald 23-1-64)

Big Exodus of Christians

About one lac christians were squeezed out from E. Pakistan and this was the organised policy and plan of the Govt. of Pakistan. Pakistan did not take any step to prevent the exodus of christians but on the other hand encouraged their exodus in collusion with some anti-social element of E. Pakistan and consequently almost all the christians residing in the area of Garu hills were fled away from there and entered into India. It is the policy of the Pakistan Govt. to squeeze out all non-muslim minorities from East and West pakistan. A correspondent of P.T.I. who toured the entire boarder area of Garu hills has given his accounts of christian oxodus as below:

“First Ever Exodus of Christians From E. Pakistan.

TURA (Garro Hills), Feb. 22.

The first ever mass movement of Christian population from Pakistan to India is taking place, at present, along the one hundred-mile-long border between the rice-producing Mymensingh district of East Pakistan and the Garo Hills district of Assam,

according to a P.T.I. special correspondent after a tour of the border areas in the Garo Hills district.

This large-scale exodus is a direct sequel to the systematic and sustained policy followed by Pakistan ever since it came into existence to squeeze out non-Muslim minorities culminating in the recent widespread and violent communal disturbances in East Pakistan.

Several thousand land-owning Christian families consisting of an estimated 35,000 men, women and children, who had to flee from their hearths and homes to escape from insecure conditions and the religious intolerance on the part of the majority community, crossed into the border areas in Garo Hills during the last one month.

Influx Continues

The influx is continuing and the non-Muslim population of the bordering villages in the Mymensing district, as a whole, are said to be on the move. All these Christian families belong to the Garo tribe.

In addition, over 30,000 tribals of the Hajoing, Banai, Koche, Rajbhansi and Dalu tribes have also escaped into the border areas of Garo Hills during this period in the first large-scale exodus of refugees into Assam since the creation of Pakistan.

All these tribes, who are living by cultivating their own lands, have been displaced from their homes and are now living in the border areas of Garo Hills.

a peaceful life for generations on either side of the Mymensingh Garo Hills border.

One of the Garo Baptist missionaries, who crossed the border into Garo Hills on January 24 along with all the people in his village, told a small group of Indian and foreign correspondents who were on a visit to the border that the large-scale looting, arson, forceful occupation of land by frenzied mobs with the connivance of the police and the active help of the militant village defence corps called Ansars and kidnapping of women which had been going on for some time had compelled them to leave their homes and seek protection on the Indian side of the border.

Atrocities

Mr. Girish Chisim was living in a refugee camp set up by the Gora district authorities when the journalists called on him. The missionary said that it was very clear from the very beginning that the Pakistan authorities did not want any non-Muslim in their territory. Through gradual stages, the majority community started forcing the non-Muslims out of their lands and taking away their crops. Although complaints were lodged against such atrocities, no notice was taken by the authorities.

Mr. Chisim, who was running a mission of the Garo Baptist Union in the Nalitabari thana of the Mymensingh district, added that even his own work as a missionary was made impossible by the majority community.

Conditions deteriorated in recent times and when the villagers neighbouring to his village, called Tarani was set on fire by mobs on January 19, 20 and 21, he had no other option but to flee to India along with the other villagers, Mr. Chisim said.

Identical Reasons

Statements, identical to the one made by the Garo missionary, were given by refugees, who had come from other villages and thanas in reply to questions by correspondents on the reasons which compelled them to flee from their homes, leaving all their movable and immovable properties behind.

The figure of the total number of Christians, who have fled to India in the present exodus, was confirmed by three foreign missionaries of Garo Hills, who are helping the authorities in providing relief to the refugees.

Father Buccieri, an Indian missionary, told the journalists that according to the figures he had collected 20,000 of the Garos, who had fled to India and living in camps set up by the Garo district authorities were Roman Catholics.

He said he worked out this figure on the basis of identification cards filled up by the refugees themselves on their arrival in the camps.

The Americans Baptist missionaries, the Rev. Jullius Downs and the Rev. James Wood, said that 15,000 of the refugees were Baptist--Reuter."

—(N. H. 24/2/64)

All the prominent leaders of the Christians all over the world have shown their strongest resentment against the policy of the cold blooded murder of christians and exodus in E Pakistan. Some of them issued appeals in the name of humanity to the World Nations to stop this exodus and cold blood murder of christians. But Pakistan turned a deaf ear to their appeals but on the other hand Pakistani leaders blamed India and encouraged those anti-social elements of Pakistan who were responsible for the murder and exodus of minorities in Pakistan. Mr. Henry Samuel M. P. and President of all India Council of Christians issued the following statement on 28th Feb. 1964.

"Exodus A World Problem, Says Christian Leader

New Delhi, Feb. 28.—Mr. Henry Samuel, M. P. president of the All India Council of Christian Leadership, yesterday described the exodus of Christians from East Pakistan as a 'world problem and said "not only world opinion but also the World Council of Churches and the United Nations should take

cognizance of the matter and ensure that such ghastly phenomenon does not disgrace human conduct in future."

Cold-blooded Murders

In a statement, Mr. Samuel, who is also a member of the World Commission of Churches on International Affairs, said that according to his information, nearly one lakh of Christians, had to migrate to India to escape persecution and even "cold-blooded murders." "Their homes have been ravaged and their crops destroyed. They have been rendered literally destitute. The exodus continues. What number is left must be very infinitesimal. Even Pakistan's foreign Minister Mr. Bhutto, has had to admit the exodus as due to high-handedness"

Persecuted, Pillaged

Mr. Samuel added : "When Hindu migrated from Pakistan thoroughly distasteful and regrettable as it was, one thought it was the result of age-old communal hatred. Now Christians also have been similarly persecuted, pillaged and driven. This brings out the stark and inescapable fact that in Pakistan there is and has been inveterate against every minority community, and that minister of for loot and blood is unbridled and unbridled admitted phenomenon is never possible in any country of Christians the government connives at it or actually Pakistan into it to hide its shortcomings or further its. He was add- ular policies.

Denying India's press reports of "mass exodus" of Christians from East Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto said that about 10,000 Christians had left the border areas of the Mymensingh district and crossed into the Assam.

Mr. Bhutto said that the Pakistan Government regretted his "unfortunate exodus" and took all possible steps to stop it.

Mr. Bhutto said the total Christian population in the isolated jungle tract was 47,000 and 10,000 had left because of "acts of highhandedness" by Muslims who had flooded into East Pakistan from India.

Some had come back "and we want the rest of them also to return," he said."

Members of the Lok Sabha irrespective of their party affiliations demanded to take strong action against the ill treatment and killing innocent minorities and christians in the Lok Sabha. The following is the text of the proceedings of the Lok Sabha on 29th Feb. 64.

"Migration of Christians

Concern Voiced in Lok Sabha

NEW DELHI, Feb. 29.—Members of the Lok Sabha cutting across party lines, voiced gave concern

today at the mass migration of Christians and other non-Muslims from East Pakistan into the Garo Hills of Assam and demanded that India should expose in foreign countries Pakistan's ill-treatment of minorities.

Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Minister for Works, Housing and Rehabilitation, told the house that 51,000, refugees, of whom 5,000 were Christians had crossed into the Garo Hills up to February 22, 1964.

Answering a short notice question, tabled by Mr. P. R. Chakravarti and others on the subject, Mr. Khanna also said that another 15,000 refugees from East Pakistan had crossed into other parts of Assam.

He announced that he was visiting the Garo Hills tomorrow to make personal assessment of the situation along with the Assam Chief Minister and would take decisions on the spot about their relief and rehabilitation.

Mr. Khanna denied a statement made recently by President Ayub Khan as well as certain foreign press reports that the Christians were returning to their homes in East Pakistan.

He said that not only were they not returning, but more were likely to come from East Pakistan.

When Mr. G. G. Sweil, Mr. Nath Pai and Mr. Mahavir Tyagi insisted on knowing whether any steps were being taken by the Government to inform the world about Christians fleeing their homes in

East Pakistan Mr. Khanna said this was a matter concerning the Ministries of information and Broadcasting and External Affairs.

Mr. Satyanarain Sinha, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, intervened to say that his ministry was already taking steps to inform the world about the mass migration of Christians.

When several members insisted on knowing the reasons that were forcing the Christians and other non-Muslims to abandon their homes and lands and migrate to India. Mr. Khanna said, amidst shouts of "shame, shame", that one of the reasons was the molestation of women.

The other reasons were arson and looting of properties of non-Muslims and the feelings aroused against the minority community by the Muslim infiltrators who had been deported to East Pakistan—
(National Herald 1/3/64.)

Jungle Law In Pakistan

Sri Gulzari Lal Nanda, Home Minister of India also admitted in the Rajya Sabha that about one lac people of minority community were squeezed out from E. Pakiatan. He also admitted that the temptation charges against the minority are heartless. The following is the text of his statement which he has given in the Rajya Sabha on 5th of March '64.

"One Lakh Squeezed Out From East Pakistan

Nanda : Temptation Charge Heartless

NEW DELHI, March 5.

Mr. G. L. Nanda, Home Minister, stated in the Rajya Sabha today that after "squeezing out and hounding out" minorities from East Pakistan, for Pakistan to say that India was tempting the minorities in Pakistan to come over was something "heartless and cruel".

Mr. Nanda, who was intervening in the discussion on the communal disturbances in East Pakistan on the motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, said that accor-

ding to the latest figure, the total number of persons, who had crossed over the West Bengal, Tripura and Assam was nearly one lakh. The number of people, who had come to West Bengal till February 24, was 11,262 of whom 8,721 were with travel documents and 3,541 without travel documents. Besides, another 6,047 persons, had also crossed from the enclaves. The number of persons, who had come to Tripura up to February 14, was 4,146 and to Assam about 75,000.

Big Problem

Mr. Nanda said that the problem of a large number of people coming to India from East Pakistan was not a simple one. It was a bigger problem in the international set-up. The responsibility of Pakistan towards its minorities was clear and unambiguous.

Referring to the suggestion that India should accept all people coming from East Pakistan, Mr. Nanda said, if India opened her doors for everybody to come from Pakistan, that would create bigger problems. This would also create complications and upset the country's economy. At the same time India could not adopt a policy that she would not accept anyone coming from Pakistan. That was not the stand; which India could maintain or take.

Govt. Efforts

Mr. Nanda said that the efforts of the Government should be to prevent the exodus or influx of people into the country from East Pakistan. If this was not

possible, then there was no other way than opening the door for the people to come and trying their best to rehabilitate them, whatever might be the difficulties and hardships.

The Home Minister said that their efforts now were to see that these minorities in East Pakistan were allowed to remain there, with safety and honour. "So far as we are concerned, our behaviour, policies and action should be above reproach towards our minorities," he said.

Mr. Nanda said that he was glad that policy of the Government had the wholehearted approval in the country. Whatever plight be the indescribable torture and sufferings of the minorities in East Pakistan, these should on no account be an "excuse or explanation on our part for anything being done to injure a single hair of a Muslim here," he said.

Upright Conduct

"We are determined about that if that determination is carried out with purpose and vigour and with a sense of mission, we will also be assisting the minorities in Pakistan to get back their sense of security. I have no doubt that our conduct in this matter is to help them in course of time," Mr. Nanda said.

The Minister said on this question, they would have to take a strong stand. There was not going to be any complacency about it. It was possible that some people might take advantage of the disturban-

ces in East Pakistan and he knew of some people perhaps, both Hindus and Muslims, who were trying to do something in some places.

Mr. Nanda said that he had also reports about some people among Muslims, who tried to create incitement by saying that what occurred in Calcutta was not the consequence of East Pakistan communal disturbances. He knew who these people were. They wanted to give colour and distort facts and create further provocation.

The minister said that he had already written to all the state Governments to be 'very watchful about them'. Some day these people might create trouble, he said.

No Distinction

Mr. Nanda said that similarly, there were also some Hindus, who wanted trouble. "We have in this country complete secularism and there will be no distinction between a member of the majority or minority community in regard to his rights and protection" he declared and added that India was in a very sound position because of her policy of secularism and "this is going to pay dividends in course of time."

The minister denied the suggestion that the disturbances in West Bengal had taken place spontaneously because of the communal hatred in the minds of the People. He said that the disturbances in West Bengal were definitely and clearly the consequence of the disturbances which occurred in East Pakistan." It might be that a few people who had some kind of

communal hatred in their minds had come into it later. But the origin of the trouble in West Bengal was the happenings and riots in East Pakistan and the face of a large number of people being driven out.

(N. Herald, 6-3-64)

The President of India Dr. Radha Krishnan appealed Dictator of Pakistan to issue joint appeal for communal harmony, but it was turned down by Dictator Ayub. Text of which published in a paper on 23rd Jan. 1964. as follows.

"Ayub Sees no Good In Joint Appeal

India's Suggestion Turned Down.

KARACHI, Jan. 21.

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan has turned down President Radhakrishnan's suggestion of a joint appeal for communal peace in the sub-continent.

Dr. Radhakrishnan had made the suggestion in his message of January 17, as the "first step" of the maintenance of communal peace and harmony in the two countries.

Mr. Ayub's reply to the President was released here tonight.

Rejecting the suggestion, Mr. Ayub said : "As you know, I have already issued an appeal to my

people. I do not see how a second appeal by me would have any greater effect. What is required is that stern measures are taken against those miscreants, who are responsible for the recent incidents in Dacca and Narayanganj and prevent the trouble from spreading. This is what the Government of East Pakistan are doing with the full backing and support of my Government".

Urgent Steps

Mr. Ayub's reply to the President said : "What is really needed is that whatever steps are necessary, should be most urgently taken to restore law and order and mete out deterrent punishment to the criminals, who have been responsible for killing innocent men, women and children.

We are Mr. President, face with a grave human problem it will not be solved by shutting our eyes to it as, for example, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nandas' statement of January 14, which said absolute communal harmony prevailed in Calcutta.' Nor can we solve it by blaming others".

Mr. Ayub continued : "Let leaders in each country look into their own hearts and resolve to put their own house in order the rest will follow."

Mr Ayub said that he did not presume to advice the president on whether or not he should issue an appeal to those people on the lines of the one the Pakistan President had issued on January 13.

"I may, however, reiterate my hope that your Government will ensure that law and order is quickly

restored in all the riot affected areas and that those who have been driven out will be enabled to return to their homes and live there with full sense of security. I reiterate this would be in the best interests of both India and Pakistan”.

Mr. Ayub told the President : “You have questioned a number of statements contained in my message of January 13. I regret I am unable to accept the information supplied to you or the contentions based on those premises.

However, I do not wish to enter the controversy at this unfortunate stage of our relationship. It would, I think, be most unfortunate if you and I get involved in an exchange of recriminations. This would deflect attention from our real purpose.”

“This purpose,” Mr. Ayub added, “is that the life and property of the minority community must be fully protected, and that communal peace must be maintained and that the minority community must not be looked upon as a hostage.

“By blaming and thus impliedly condoning communal killings and destruction in one country on similar instances in the other, we might unwillingly lend encouragement precisely to those evil forces which, it is the Government’s duty to curb.

Both of Mr. Nanda’s public statements of Jan. 11 and 14, to which you have referred, are unfortunately marred by this blemish and I was hoping that you will take a more objective and dispassionate view”.

President Ayub Khan’s reply was delivered to the Indian President in New Delhi this evening.

The Union Rehabilitation Minister Sri Mehar Chand Khanna admitted this fact in a Press Conference of Gohati (Assam) on 4th March, 1964 that the policy of the Pakistan Government is to have only muslims in the border areas. The text of his statement is given below.

Pakistan Policy Is To Have Only Muslims In Border Areas

Gauhati, March 4.—The Union Minister for Rehabilitation, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, said here today it appeared to be the considered policy of the Government of Pakistan that they would like only the Muslims to live in the border areas.

The Pakistan Government is determined to squeeze all other—Hindus or Christians—living there” he added.

Mr. Khanna told a press conference that he had come to this conclusion after his prolonged discussions during the last three days with the migrants, who had come away from East Pakistan.

He said that migration had been taking place on a very large scale.

Mr. Khanna also said that from the talks he had with the refugees, it was clear that “the Islam regime

in Pakistan is creating on the one hand a sense of insecurity in the minds of non-Muslims and on the other hand when they were fleeing Pakistan for life they were fired upon, even the women and children were not spared."

Mr. Khanna said that not a single refugee who had come away wanted to back to Pakistan.

Human Problem

Mr. Khanna said, "As for as we are concerned, we are going to treat this as a national problem. We do not want people to come away from Pakistan but, if they come to India, no course is open to us but to offer them relief and rehabilitation. It is a human problem and we are going to deal with it on a human plane.

The Union Minister said that the Government of Assam had done extremely well in this matter. Reception centres were being opened and arrangements were being made to provide rations, medical facilities and other relief arrangements to provide educational facilities were also taken in hand.

It was proposed, he said, to set up primary schools in the camps and if possible to provide education up to the middle and higher secondary stage in the nearby schools. The state Government were also thinking of expansion of the schools if need be."

"World Pressure On Pakistan Sought

New Delhi, March 1—Several leading members of Parliament today appealed to world statesmen to urge the Pakistan Government to desist from "persistent persecution" of minorities in that country.

"It is time that world conscience rises in the name of humanity to cure the sufferings and injustice inflicted on innocent persons by the maltreatment of minorities in Pakistan" they said in an appeal issued here.

The policy of the Pakistan Government and its agencies, they said, seemed to be "to kill, convert or compel the minorities to quit the country."

The recent mass exodus of the minority communities from Pakistan, arising from the "atrocities perpetrated on them" was a "human problem of great consequence" which concerned the whole of mankind.

The situation had become so serious that world public opinion should focus attention on the issue, they said.

The appeal was signed by thirty-one Congress, PSP and independent members of Parliament. The signatories included Mr. Raghunath Singh Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mr. G.S. Pathak, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri, Mr. R. K. Khadilkar, Mr. Hare Krishna Mahatab,

Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, Mr. H. C. Mathur, Mr. K. C. Pant, Mr. P. Venkatasubbiah and Mrs. Renuka Ray (all Congress), Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha and Mr. Surendranath Dwivedi (P. S. P.), Mr. Frank Anthony, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, Dr. M. S. Aney and Mr. G. G. Swell (Independents).

Great Human Problem

Mr. Raghunath Singh said here that the appeal was being forwarded to world statesmen and humanitarian organisations in order to enlist their help in solving "this great human problem."

The appeal said. "The recent mass exodus of minority communities from Pakistan directly stemming from the atrocities perpetrated on them is fresh in our mind. The latest wave of this exodus includes not only several Christian of all denominations thousands of Hindus but 35,000 and also Buddhists fleeing Pakistan and seeking refuge in Indian territory, Killings, loot, arson, dispossession of property, revolting crimes against women result in stupefying terror and leave no choice for the persecuted and up-reported but to escape from Pakistan and seek refuge in India.

Wanton Firing

"Reports have been received that even refugees crossing the borders have been fired upon wantonly by Pakistan armed personal causing casualties even

among women and children. All thing results from policies pursued by the present totalitarian Military regime of Pakistan. The voice of reason is silenced, freedom of press destroyed and public opinion strangled. The out-burst of communal frenzy from time to time is the natural and inevitable consequence of the unceasing campaign of hatred against the minorities in that country. This outrage on humanity has been instigated and fanned by the present rulers. The Pakistan Government will not control this as the policy of that Government and its agencies seems to be to kill, convert or compel the minorities to quit that country.

How Long ?

“Human feeling and compassion naturally flow to the innocent sufferers—victims of beastly cruelty—whose only fault is professing a faith other than that of the rulers.

“This is a human problem of great consequence and raises grave issues. The problem affects not only the actual sufferers but it concerns the whole of mankind. How long will humanity suffer in this way and civilization continue to be crucified ? Are human rights and fundamental freedom empty words and idle phrases meant only to adorn the charter of the United Nations and the great Declaration of Human Rights ? What is the distinction in principle between racial and religious persecution ? It is time that world conscience rises in the name of humanity to cure the

sufferings and injustice inflicted of innocent persons by the maltreatment of the minorities in Pakistan. How long will world public opinion tolerate this genocide and allow the present conditions to continue ?

Serious

"The situation is so serious that it has become necessary for work public opinion to focus its attention on the cruel treatment and incitement to such treatment of religious minorities residing in Pakistan. We firmly believe that the future of mankind lies in the co-existence of the peoples of the world living peacefully in common brotherhood and without discrimination on the basis of race or religion. In the name of humanity and in the interest of peace, we appeal to the world community and world statesmen to urge upon the Pakistan Government to desist from its persistent persecution of and deliberate discriminatory policies against its own citizens." (N.H. 3-3 64)

Not only this but some members of the Parliament belonging to different parties urged the Govt. of India to take the issue of ill treatment of minorities in Pakistan to the United Nations. The following is the brief report of the debate on the issue of minority in Pakistan on March 4, 1964 in Rajay Sabha:

India Urged To Take Issue To U.N.

New Delhi, March 4.

Members belonging to different parties in the Rajya Sabha today urged the Government to take the question of treatment of minorities in Pakistan to the United Nations in the light of the recent exodus of Christian and Hindu minorities from East Pakistan.

The Communist member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who initiated the day-long discussion on the situation arising out of the communal riots in East Pakistan, asked the Government to pursue vigorous and active diplomacy to create world opinion against the Ayub regime which considered communal riots and violence as a part of the statecraft.

The Jan Sangh leader, Mr. Vajpayee, and Mr. Henery Samuel (Congress) saw an unholy alliance between Pakistan and China in creating tensions in India in order to disturb the peace. Mr. T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar (Congress) and Mr. Mani (Independent) said that a charge of genocide of minorities against Pakistan should be taken to the world forum.

The Home Minister, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, will intervene in the discussion tomorrow.

Mr Bashir Hussain Zaidi (Congress) referred to atrocities committed by the majority community in Pakistan against religious minorities, including the

Shias and Qadianis, and said that strong world opinion should be created against Pakistan.

Blot On Islam

Mr. Suleman Sait (Muslim League) and Mr. A. M. Tariq (Congress) said that the treatment of minorities by Pakistan was not only a blot on the fair name of Islam but also a crime against humanity.

Mr. Salt said that while India took firm action to put from disturbance in West Bengal, the Government of Pakistan was reluctant to check the East Bengal riots.

Mr. Tariq said that India should even go to war with Pakistan to protect the rights of the minorities there

Mr. Gurupadaswamy (PSP) and Mr. M. Govinda Reddy (Congress) asked India to adopt a policy of firmness against Pakistan. The PSP members said that India had a right to demand territory from Pakistan in case of further exodus of minority community from East Pakistan.

Mr. Reddy warned that if India did not follow a firm policy Tripura would be swallowed by Pakistan. Many other members also felt that Pakistan drove away minority community from the border areas to entrench its army.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta asked the Government *not to* place any impediments on the mig *minorities*

from East Pakistan. The Government he said, had a moral responsibility to rehabilitate them wherever they were.

Mr. S. K. Basu (Congress) said that so long as Pakistan leaders did not change their attitude and implement the Nehru Liaquat Ali pact in the right spirit, minorities in Pakistan could not be safe.

National Problem

Many members asked the Government to deal with the rehabilitation of the migrants as a national problem. While Mr. Kakati (Congress) wanted all state Governments to co-operate in this effort, Prof. Ruthnaswamy (Swatantra) wanted the formation of a special organisation consisting of Government and non-official representatives both from the Centre and the states—" (N.H. 6-3-64)

Resentment over the Pakistan atrocities over minority was made all over the World and throughout India. Only the U.K. & U.S. Governments remained silent though the different papers in these two countries too raised a voice against atrocities of Pakistan on minority specially on christians. All the statesmen and leaders of India condemn these atrocities and tried to pacify the reaction of the communal feelings in India excited by the Pakistan. Sri Atul Ghosh, M.P.

and member of the congress working committee belonging to W. Bengal gave his statement as below appealing for the majority of India to save minority in India.

"Resentment over Pak atrocities on Minorities.

Calcutta Feb. 25 (PTI)—Mr. Atulya Ghosh, M.P. and Treasurer of the all-India Congress Committee, yesterday appealed to the majority community of East Pakistan, "who are no less Bengalis than we are, to be aware of their moral responsibility towards their brothers and sisters who may be of another religion."

He said that "their responsibility is greater because the trouble began due to the failure of the Pakistan Government to give security to the minority community of East Pakistan."

Mr. Ghosh, who is also the Vice President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, was talking to newsmen here.

He said that world opinion should be created to force the Pakistan Government to allow the minority community in Pakistan to live in security. He said that such atrocities should always be put before the representatives of other countries in India and outside. "The refugees are not coming away due to

economic difficulties but because their honour is at stake and their lives are inure," he added.

Mr. Ghosh said that in spite of worst provocation, the Indians should exercise full restraint to preserve security and honour of the minority community here.

Oppression

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha yesterday urged the Union Government to compel Pakistan to allow the members of the minority community there to come over to India from their "oppression and to make the Pakistan Government accept the Indian minorities for which it was created "

In a resolution adopted at a public meeting here the Mahasabha condemned the Congress High Command "for suppressing the movement for exchange of population between India and Pakistan, which is the only permanent solution for peace between the two countries.

The meeting expressed great concern at the "one-sided migration to India and said that it would bring "disaster" to this country.

The executive committee of the West Bengal branch of the Press Socialist Party yesterday demanded that all Pakistanies living in India without valid documents should be "pushed out."

Security

In a resolution adopted at a meeting here the committee urged the Government to "discharge their

moral and political responsibility" for the Safety and security of the minorities in East Pakistan and to extend necessary help for their safe and planned evacuation.

About 400 students yesterday marched in a procession towards the Assembly House demanding "relaxation in facilities for the migration of East Pakistan minorities to India "

The demonstration was organised by the United Central students Peace Committee.

A memorandum to the above effect was handed over to the chief Minister at the Assembly House."

(I. Express 28-2-64)

To create good will among the different communities in India and Pakistan the President of India Dr. Radha Krishnan suggested to the President of Pakistan for the joint appeal for communal peace in the sub continent but even this appeal was turned down by the President of Pakistan.

The basic principle of the Pakistan's policy is to create trouble to terrorise minorities in Pakistan and in this way she want to throw away all the minorities from the territory of Pakistan. This is the organised conspiracy of the Pakistan Govt. against the minority in E. & W. Pakistan.

The Pakistan always find out some excuses for such riots in Pakistan and the organised effort of the Pakistan Govt. is to clear Pakistan from the Hindus and Christians. More than two third of the population of minority community have already left Pakistan after its creation and those who are living there either in East or in West Pakistan are ready to leave Pakistan at an early date. Sri Mehar Chand Khanna admitted this fact in Lok Sabha on 12 March 1964 replying to a question of a member and he informed the house that 80,000 people of the minority community are ready to leave Pakistan. His statement runs as follows :

“No Woman or Child Safe In East Pakistan

**Union Minister Excepts 80,000 More
Migrants**

NEW DELHI, March 12

Renewed concern over the Plight of minorities in East Pakistan was expressed in the Lok Sabha today following a statement of the Rehabilitation Minister, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, that his impression after

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his recent visit to the Garo hills was that no woman or child belonging to the minority communities was safe in Pakistan.

Mr. Khanna told the house in reply to a short-notice question by Mr. Hem Barua that another 70,000 to 80,000 migrants would be coming over to the Garo hills in the next few months, in addition to 75,000 who had already arrived there.

"I got the impression from my talks with the refugees that not one of them is going back to Pakistan" Mr. Khanna said.

In thirty-minute discussion that followed the main question, members anxiously enquired what the Government were doing to bring to the notice of other countries "the atrocities that are being committed on the minorities in Pakistan".

Controversy

Mr. Khanna's reply that it was the concern of the External Affairs Ministry led to a brief controversy. The Speaker, Mr. Hukum Singh, said that he could not compel a minister to answer a matter pertaining to another ministry, nor was it possible for all the ministers to be present in the House.

The Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, told the Speaker that if the question was specific, "some of us would answer. But it is of a very general category."

Mr. H. V. Kamath asked if the minister had come to the conclusion that the Pakistan Government had lunched a systematic method to squeeze out the minorities in Pakistan, or at least in the border districts.

Mr. Khanna said that during his visit to the Garo hills he had no opportunity of going behind the "Iron curtain of Pakistan", but his impression was that many more would come out of Pakistan to India.

Issue For U.N. Council

Mr. Ranga asked if the Government had brought to the attention of the U N Security Council the manner in which the minorities in Pakistan were being treated, almost amounting to genocide.

Mr. Khanna said that the question should be addressed to the Ministry of External Affairs.

The minister told Mr. P. C. Borooah that one of the leading missionaries had made a representation to him that Pakistan should be called up to give certain areas to India.

In reply to Mr. Barkataki, Mr. Khanna said that he was told by the refugees that life had been made completely impossible in Pakistan by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and when they came out, they were fired at by East Pakistan Rifles. - The only opportunity they could find to escape was either in the dark nights or in the rains.

Replying to Mrs. Jyotsna Chanda, the minister, said that he had no details about the abductions, of women in Pakistan. But a man lying in hospital in the Garo hills with bullet wounds had told him that he received injuries when he had to fight some people who were abducting his daughter. There was also a young mother whom he had met and her child had been murdered. The mother, when he had seen, was too petrified to speak."

Statement of Mr.M.A. Kirkwood regarding plight of refugees runs as follows:

"Looting abduction and Raping

Jeremiad About E. Pak Refugees

"A book could be written on the atrocities, shooting, bayoneting, baton attacks and raping inflicted by the East Pakistan Rifles and "Ansar" personnel of the East Pakistan border forces upon the fleeing refugees," according to Rev. M. A. Kirkwood, representative of Indian Christian Societies.

Rev. Kirkwood, who is the liaison officer for church world service, Baptist groups in Assam, NE Indian Christian, Australian Baptist Mission and Garo Hills Christian relief committee, has just submitted to the Government his report of a survey of Garo Hills' refugee camps, which he conducted recently.

He says in his report, "Stories of looting, and of the abduction of tribal maidens by members of the majority community of the area are common. More could be written concerning the reasons for the fear and insecurity which caused this mass exodus of these minority groups into the Garo Hills from this border strip of East Pakistan."

According to Rev. Kirkwood, there were 75,000 tribal refugees mainly of Hajong, Garo, Nanai, Koch Dalu and Rajbongshi tribes in the refugee camps on March 3. The situation then was still fluid; there were still 100 to 200 persons crossing the border every 24 hours who reported that the other were waiting "for moonless and rainy nights before making the break".

Tribute

"Tribute must be paid to the magnificent task the Assam Government and its officers are doing in administering food, housing and relief to these people," the report said.

"It would be difficult to praise the Government too much for its efforts. The organisation is running like a welloiled machine," the report added.

Rev. Kirkwood referred to certain basic needs "where Christian and other organisations would be able to supplement and assist the Government in its tremendous job. It must be remembered that a large percentage of these folk left everything behind them,

particularly if they encountered East Pakistan Rifles or Ansar personnel while escaping." he added.

He also gave details of the articles such as blankets, vessels medicines, tarpaulins and milk which the various Christian relief societies had and were still distributing to the refugees as part of their relief work.

Inspite of strong notes and protests no step was taken by the Pakistan Govt. to stop exodus but encouraged to excite the communal feelings among the majority community of Pakistan by issuing inflammatory and objectionable statements against the Govt. of India as well as against the minority community in Pakistan. The Govt. of India sent a note on 29th Feb. '64 to the High Commissioner of Pakistan. The following is the text of the note as given by Mrs. Laxmi Menon, Minister for External Affairs in the Rajaya Sabha.

"India Demands Steps For Peace

Second Note Sent

NEW DELHI, March 2.

India has sent a second note to Pakistan demanding that she take immediate steps to restore communal harmony in East Pakistan and rehabilitate the minorities.

This note was delivered to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi on February 29.

Making a statement in the Rajya Sabha today on the migration of Christian refugees from East Pakistan into Assam, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Minister of State for External Affairs, said that the reason for the exodus was "organized" large-scale looting, arson, kidnappiag and forcible occupation of their lands by the members of the majority community with the connivance of Pakistan police and the village defence crops known as 'Ansars'.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, who made the statement in response to motion for papers by Mr AD Mani (Ind), said that both the President and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had admitted the flight of large numbers of Christians from Mymensingh district to India.

She recalled the reports of intereviws given to Indian and foreign correspondents by foreign missionaries about the influx of Christians, including 20,000 Roman Catholics and 15,000 Baptists. The exodus had begun on January 18 and over 52,338 refugees, including men, women and children, had crossed into Assam, and of those, 35,000 were Christian families belonging to the Garro tribe.

Protest Note

The minister told the house that despite India's protest note against the shooting of the helpless refugees fleeing from persecution in East Pakistan

had not acknowledged the occurrence of this barbarous act.

Mrs. Menon assured the house that the refugees, who fled from East Pakistan, constituted a "national problem" and that all efforts would be made to rehabilitate them in India.

Mr. AD Mani asked whether India had protested against Pakistan's attempts through radio broadcasts quoting President Ayub, to put the blame on "Indian propaganda" for the exodus.

Mr. Menon said that these matters had been dealt with in India's latest note.

When more members sought to put questions, the Chairman, Dr. Zakir Hussain, pointed out that the house would have an opportunity of discussing this subject on March 4.—

The following is the statement by Mrs. Menon in the Rajya Sabha today on the migration of Christian refugees from East Pakistan into Assam :

The house is aware that an unprecedented influx of Hindu and Christian refugees is taking place into the Garo Hills district from the Mymensingh district of East Pakistan. It is known that this exodus from East Pakistan into Assam began on January 18, and that the total number of refugees, men, women and children, who have so far crossed over into Assam, is about 52,231. Of this number, an estimated 35,000 are Christian families who being the Garo

tribe. The reason for this exodus is that these Hindu and Christian members of the minority communities in East Pakistan have been compelled to leave their ancestral homes due to organised large-scale looting, arson, kidnapping and forcible occupation of their lands by the members of the majority community with the connivance of the Pakistan police and the village defence corps known as "ansars".

The gravity of this mass movement of the minority population from East Pakistan has been brought out clearly by the recent visit by Indian and foreign correspondents to the Garo Hills district in Assam where they met refugees and foreign missionaries who are looking after them. Father Cuccieri, an Italian missionary, is reported to have told the correspondents that according to the figures he had collected on the basis of identification cards filled up by refugees themselves, on their arrival in camps, 20,000 of the Garos who had crossed into India were Roman Catholics. Two of the American Baptist missionaries, the Rev. Jullus, Downs and the Rev. James Wood, stated that 13,000 of the refugees were Baptist. The correspondents also learnt, at first hand of East Pakistan Rifles opening fire on a batch of defenceless Garo refugees fleeing into Assam on February 6. Dr. M. Hussain, sub-divisional health and medical officer of Tura, showed them the bullets taken from the heads of the two children who were killed.

Dr. Hussain informed the correspondents that seven men, four women and two children were brought to the hospital from the border outpost of Dalu on the night of February 7, and that some of them had bullet injuries and the others had received injuries inflicted by spears and lathi blows. The refugees stated the total number of persons who were attempting to cross the border was about 3,000, but only 1,500 managed to cross the border near the Indian post of Dalu, thirty-three miles south-west of Tura. The others who are continuing to cross the border into Assam consist of the Hojang, Banai, Koche, Rajbansi and Dalu tribes. All the refugees, who have crossed into the Garo Hills district, are from the five thanas of Nalta Bari, Sribordi, Halvaghat, Durgapur and Kamala-kanda in the Mymensingh district.

Protests

The Government of India, in their note dated February 13 presented to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, protested to Pakistan at the shooting of the helpless refugees fleeing from persecution in East Pakistan. Though Pakistan has not acknowledged the occurrence of this barbarous act, the Pakistan Foreign Minister has had to contradict the reported statement of Khan A Sabur Khan, Pakistan Central Minister of Communications, that "there is no truth in the Indian press reports that Christians living in East Pakistan had started fleeing," by admitting in Dacca, on February 20 that "some exodus"

of Christians from the Mymensingh district into Assam had taken place and regretted on behalf of his Government that his "unfortunate exodus" is due to "acts of highhandednesss by Muslims. The President of Pakistan has also admitted the flight of large numbers of Christians from the Mymensingh district to India.

The house will recall that the Government of India, in their note dated February 1, presented to Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, the text of which was placed on the table of the house on February 11 by the Union Home Minister, had pointed out clearly to Pakistan its responsibilities for the restoration of communal peace and harmony in East Pakistan. If the leaders and the Government of Pakistan had taken heed of our advice, these minorities would not now be pouring across the Pakistan border into India and Pakistan would not have to speculate whether they would return to their ancestral homes from which they have been forcibly turned out. In a note dated February 22, delivered to the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi, the Government of India have reiterated that the Pakistan Government should take immediate steps to restore communal harmony in East Pakistan and rehabilitate the minorities.

The reply of the first note sent by the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan was so absurd that Pakistan instead of considering the note carefully accused

the Indian Government for inducing the minorities in Pakistad to migrate from Pakistan to India. The Pakistan papers gave the extract of notes sent by Pakistan to India as below:

"Pakistan Accuses India Of Inducing Minority

KARACHI, March, 4

Pakistan has accused India of offering "open inducements" to minority communities in this country to migrate to India.

The charge is contained in a note handed over by the Pakistan Foreign Office yesterday by Mr. PN Kaul, counsellor in the Indian High Commission here.

The note said that despite all protests and warnings by the Pakistan Government, India had "persisted in persuing their ill advised policies which have had the effect of unsettling minority communities in India as well as Pakistan."

The Pakistan note was in reply to the Indian protest note of February 13 which drew the attention of the Government of Pakistan to "cold blooded murder" committed by East Pakistan Rifles on a batch of refugees fleeing into the Garo Hills area from Mymensingh District of East Pakistan on February 6 .

Reign of terror among minorities in East Pakistan was described by Awami League Leader of East Pakistan in following words:

Reign Of Terror In East Pakistan Villages

DACCA, Feb. 9

Mr. Majibur Rahman, general secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, said on Sunday that "a reign of terror has been let loose" in Gopalganj and neighbouring villages following a clash between two rival groups at Jalipara village during a recent minority conference.

Mr. Rahman, who returned from a tour of Gopalganj, in a press statement said that a handful of hooligans made an abortive attempt to break up the conference of the minority community as a sequel to which there was a "serious disturbance" resulting in the arrest of four persons and issuing of arrest warrants against 15 others. Seven persons were sent to hospital for treatment, he added.

Mr. Rahman said incidently a large number of victims were members of the minority community, belonging to the opposition, particularly of the Awami League.

Mr. phani Mazumdar, former member of the provincial assembly, was arrested in a village near

Madaripur town on Saturday last under the Public Safety Law.

The opposition leaders in a statement criticised the arrest of Mr. Mazumdar on the eve of the forthcoming assembly elections.

They said that continued arrest of minority leaders had falsified the Government claim that they had sympathy for the minorities.

A group of 30 representatives of the minority communities in East Pakistan have sent a joint appeal to President Ayub Khan and the provincial Governor urging withdrawal of the 14-month-old ban on sale and disposal of properties owned by the minorities in the province."

The aim of Pakistan to oust the minorities from its territory is to confiscate the property of the minority in East Pakistan as she has confiscated properties of minorities in West Pakistan. The Church Leaders of Christians also are of opinion that the conspiracy of Pakistan to squeeze out the minority is only to confiscate the property of the minorities. A meeting of the Church leaders in Delhi was held on 4th of March '64 in which they have openly criticised the exodus of minorities specially Christians and they alleged that this move of the Pakistan Government to free Pakistan from minorities is to confiscate

their properties. The extract of the proceedings of this meeting is as follows:—

Church Leaders discuss exodus

NEW DELHI, March 4

A meeting of church leaders in Delhi took place here today to discuss the question of the exodus of Christian from East Pakistan and its implications.

Mr. Henry Samuel, M.P., explained to the meeting the events leading to illtreatment and confiscation of property of Christians in East Pakistan and their consequent exodus to India. He also stressed the need to bring this fact to the notice of the World Church Organisation.

The meeting decided that churches all over India should organise relief measures for the aid of the Christian refugees from East Pakistan.

Hooligans Burn Bible In Lahore

NEW DELHI, March, 21

Six Muslim hooligans carrying inflammable material in a bag approached the Bible Society book shop in old Aanarkali Bazar in Lahore and asked for a dozen copies of the Bible. When the salesman produced the books, they threw them in the street and set fire to them, it is learnt from reliable sources here.

The salesman tried to intervene but was man-handled. One of the hooligans fired a pistol shot and injured one of the members of the staff of the Bible book shop when he tried to intervene.

Two arrests were made."

The basic policy of Pakistan is based on opposition to India and, therefore, she is creating all sorts of trouble against India. Hate India movement was organised by the Pakistan Government not in Pakistan alone but in every country where Pakistan has diplomatic relations. Pakistan always harp the slogan of 'Hate India movement' whenever the question of Kashmir came into the Security Council of U. N. The latest move of Pakistan to raise the problem of Kashmir in security Council is nothing but only to abuse the Government of India and to make propaganda of its policy of Hate India Government. Mr. Bhutto the foreign Minister of Pakistan presenting his case against India in the Security council could not give any substantial example of injustice on behalf of India but continued to harp the ever lasting slogans against the National leaders of India and Government of India. Mr. Chatterjee representative of Indian Gover

had taken place between the two since 1947 or were being contemplated were "part of the larger process of the organic growth of the Union of India."

Mr. Chhagla had also some words to say to Pakistan's allies and friends on the Security Council without naming them on their attitude to India in the context of Communist China's threat to the sub-continent.

Accusing Pakistan of conspiring with Communist China to make India domestically and internationally weak, Mr. Chhagla said, "India today is perhaps the only country which can stand up to Chinese expansion and aggression. If India failed, there will be nothing to control the Chinese forward policy. It is, therefore, not only in the interest of India herself but also in the interest of peace that India should be strong. We are very grateful for the aid that we have received from friendly countries. But the whole purpose of this would be completely nullified if India becomes domestically weak. No country can be internationally strong if she does not also have domestic strength. The domestic strength of India depends upon her secularism, upon the vital necessity of the different communities that reside within her living in peace and harmony. Pakistan does not want India to be strong; it wants to weaken her both internationally and domestically, Its recent flirtations with China are clear evidence of this fact. In this context, Kashmir assumes great importance."

Mr Chagla then said that Pakistan, which complained that India was changing the status quo in Kashmir, had itself committed a gross change in the status quo by handing over to China 2,000 square miles of the area to which Pakistan had no right or title.

He then added : "But apart from the fact that legally and constitutionally Kashmir is a part of India, apart from the fact that we do not subscribe to the theory that Hindus and Muslims are two nations, and apart from the fact that Kashmir is the symbol and guarantee of our secularism, Kashmir has now assumed vital importance because of the continuing menace of China. A mere glance at the map of India will be sufficient to illustrate this,"

Oh what the Security Council could or should do in the present circumstances to bring about better relations between India and Pakistan, Mr. Chagla said the passing of resolutions would not be helpful but would only aggravate feelings. No resolution, however well drafted, would satisfy both parties. "What is necessary is action and what we have to remember is that first things must come first," he said.

The first thing, Mr. Chagla said, was to restore normal conditions in the disturbed areas of India and Pakistan and to bring about inter-communal unity and harmony in both the countries. For this purpose India was prepared to take any and every step in co-operation with Pakistan. A bipartite ministerial level would be helpful for this purpose.....

Two-Nation Theory

"When leaders of the Muslim League demanded a portion of the country, the demand was based on the two-nation theory. Their contention was that Hindus and Muslims were two nations and were entitled to have a homeland of their own. We recognise India and Pakistan as two nations but we have repudiated the two nation theory based on religion and it is abhorrent to us. If Hindus and Muslims constitute two nations, the inevitable result must follow that fifty million Muslims in India are aliens in their own homes," he said.

We refuse to subscribe to the theory that religion can be the sole basis of a nationality. We believe in a multi-racial, multicommunal and multi-linguistic society and, according to us, peace and goodwill in this world depends upon the success of such a society and, I am sure, this sentiment will strike a sympathetic record in the hearts of many African countries which have recently achieved independence. Most of them have populations who practise different religions. The same is the case with many West Asian countries, and in the United States itself a brave attempt is being made to consolidate and integrate its different racial groups," the Indian delegate said.

"Is it not extraordinary," Mr. Chhagla asked, "that while Pakistan is shouting itself hoarse as a self-appointed guardian of Indian Muslims, the Mus-

lim opinion, in India has always, strongly endorsed the policy of my Government? What does Pakistan seek to achieve by its anti-Indian crusade, its campaign of scurrilous abuse and hatred of India? Is it helping the Muslims of India; is it exciting communal passions fanning flames of fanaticism and intolerance and is the preaching of 'jehad' helping the cause of Muslim in India?..... I do not think Pakistan is so unsophisticated as all that. It wants to see discord and turmoil in India—it wants India to be politically and economically weakend so that it can get an opportunity to continue further its present illegal occupation of the part of the territory which, by international law, is as much the part of Indian territory as Bombay or Delhi is. It is already thereby playing the Chinese game of weakening India internally and undermining its defence against China."

Nothing New

Mr. Chagla said that Pakistan's present complaint was not new. Similar complaint had been voiced by her in 1949 when the Indian Constituent Assembly decided to reserve four seats for the state in Indian Parliament. The United Nations had then refused to take any action on the ground that it was difficult to oppose the Indian Governments' action on a purely legal ground.

Similar complaints had been made by Pakistan every time some changes were made. The subject matter of the complaint was in a letter to the council

on October 9, 1963, and was replied to by India on November 13, and again raised by Pakistan on January 5. "Nothing new happened since then to justify the Pakistan Foreign Minister's demand for an immediate meeting of the council, Mr. Chagla said.

Dealing with the charge that India was trying to annex or integrate Kashmir into the Indian Union, Mr. Chagla said it was beyond doubt that legally and constitutionally when the Kashmir ruler had executed the instrument, of accession to India and Lord Mountbatten had accepted the instrument, the whole of Kashmir became an integral part of the Indian Union politically and constitutionally.

Accession

The Indian delegate said there was no substance in the suggestion that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was not complete and absolute because the people of the state had not been consulted nor had they been given an opportunity to express their choice. The international law did not require that a treaty concluded by a ruler of a state with the mutual consent of the contracting parties to the treaty, which otherwise was valid and binding, should be referred to the will of the people before it took effect. "There is no doubt, and I do not think that Pakistan can dispute it, that the Government of the Maharaja of Kashmir was recognised by Pakistan. It was with this Government that Pakistan concluded a standstill agreement by exchange of telegrams of August 12 and 13, 1947. At that time the Government of Pakistan

had not questioned whether the Government of the Maharaja was capable of expressing the will of the people nor had it doubted the validity of the agreement. It is, thus clear that international law does not require that a party to an agreement should look behind the recognised Government with whom it contracts and see that the agreement had been arrived at by prior consultation with the people. In fact, the accession was also supported by the largest political party in Kashmir."

Mr. Chagla added : "The distinguished Foreign Minister of Pakistan said nothing new on the legal aspect of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. He has repeated the same mixture of mis-statements and omissions of material facts and a refusal to face up to the clear provisions of the Indian Independence Act. I do not wish to enter into the details of our case which are well known to the Security Council. I shall content myself by drawing attention only to salient points."

Dacca Riots

Mr. Chagla added : "Having failed in its evil design to stir up trouble in Kashmir, Pakistan diverted its attention to East Pakistan and serious riots broke out in Khulna and Jessore and Muslims there attacked the Hindu minority."

"There were terrible incidents of looting and stabbing. A large number of members of the

frightened minority started a trek towards India which lay just across the frontier.

This is strange that while in Kashmir itself, the large Muslim majority did not suspect Hindus of having a hand in the theft of the relic, 1500 miles away, the Muslims of East Pakistan were demonstrating against the Hindus and accusing the Hindu community in Kashmir of anti-Muslim actions."

Mr. Chagla then quoted from a "New York Times" report on the East Pakistan riots and said: "The repercussions of the Khlua riots resulted in riots in Calcutta, Refugees from East Pakistan came to the city with lurid tales of what had happened to their co-religionists on the other side of the frontier. The passions of the Hindus in Calcutta were inflamed, and unfortunate incidents took place where Muslim lives were lost and some property burnt down".

The aim of the Pakistan Government is to create troubles for India because she knows that some Western power including U.S. and U.K. help her in her mischevious actions inside and outside of Pakistan against India. The United Nations have appointed a commission to observe the cease fire line but after the cease fire agreement as ordered by U. N. Security Council Pakistan in violation

of this cease fire order, captured the northern part of Kashmir illegally and unconstitutionally. Not only this but also Pakistan occupied some of the parts inside Kashmir which were under the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The U. N. Security Council decided and ordered that Pakistan must vacate territory forcibly occupied by her before plebiscite but instead of vacating this territory Pakistan has violated cease fire line on various occasions. Pakistan violating the cease fire tried to provoke people and Government of India. Recently Pakistani troops near the cease fire line killed and murdered some two dozens of the patrol party men inside Indian border and thus seriously violated cease fire line and provoked India, inspite of such provocation India did not take any retaliatory measures against Pakistan. It is reported that bodies of these ambushed soldiers were thrown in the river by the Pakistani soldiers to provoke the Government of India and people in Kashmir. The account of this incident has been given by Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Defence Minister of India in Rajaya Sabha as below:

Bodies Of Ambushed Men Thrown In River

—C H A V A N

The Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, today assured the Rajaya Sabha that if there was any "concerted action" by Pakistan armed forces across the cease fire line "our army is well-prepared to face it."

Mr. Chawan said that so far the Government had no indications about "Massive concentration" of Pakistani troops near the cease fire line. But, he added, "we can not eliminate the possibilities of recurrence of incidents such as ambushes because Pakistan seems to be out for creation some sort of trouble."

Members expressed concern over the situation following Mr. Chawan's disclosure of violation of the cease fire line on February 24 by twenty Pakistani and Pakistan occupied Kashmir personnel in an area two miles north-east of Keran, on the Indian side.

Mr. Chawan said that on seeing the Indian patrol the intruders went back to their side. A complaint for breach of the cease-fire had been lodged with U. N. military observers.

Referring to the abushing of Indian armed petrol in the vicinity of Keran on February 21, Mr. Chawan

said that the missing persons must have been either killed or captured.

Bodies Thrown Into River

Yesterday a team of U. N. observers, accompanied by the Indian sector commander and the head constable involved in the ambush, visited the scene of the encounter and found a light machine-gun a rifle and stern-gun cartridges. No bodies were found at the site, but from the indications on the site it appeared that the bodies of the persons killed had been thrown into the river.

Another team of U.N. observers Mr. Chavan added, was expected to visit the site today and Pakistani representative would also reach the site for a joint inspection on February 27.

Mr Bhupesh Gupta asked what marks the light machine-gun and rifle found at the site of the Ambush bore and whether the government could identify the manufacture of the light machine-gun.

Mr. Chavan said he could not say what marks these bore. The cartridges had the marks " 7 " POF 1955."

Mr. Chavan asked the members not to get excited over these incidents because these incidents were planned (by Pakistan) to create difficulties. "The whole matter is being looked into by U. N observer team on the spot."

The Defence Minister made the statement on the incidents of February 21 and February 24 near the

case-fire line in reply to a short notice question by Mr. A. B. Vajpayee.

Statement

Mr. Chavan added : "I can only assure the house that if there is any concerned action on behalf Pakistani armed troops. Our army is well prepared to face it. But I would seek the indulgence of this house not to get excited over these incidents because they are planned to create difficulties (for us)".

Earlier Mr. Chavan made the following statement: A patrol, consisting of one sub-Inspector, six head constables and 18 constables of U. P. Provincial Armed Constabulary, going on its routine duties on our side of the cease-fire line was ambushed by Pakistan occupied Kashmir armed personnel and armed civilians between 10.00 hours and 11.00 hours on February 21 in the vicinity of Keran.

Killed or Captured

One head constable and one constable had returned. The remainder of the patrol is missing. It is feared that missing persons must have been either killed or captured.

The ambush has taken place clearly on our side of the cease-fire line. According to the cease-fire agreement, troops of both sides are prohibited from entering the zones of 500 yards from the ceasefire line. But police patrols are permitted to go up to the cease-fire

line for normal police duties. Our patrol was ambushed while going along the track Keran-Bor in this zone on our side of the cease-fire line.

More Violations

"Again, on Feb. 24 at 3-30 p.m. twenty Pakistani and Pakistan occupied Kashmir personnel were noticed in an area two miles north-east of Keran on our side of the cease-fire line. On seeing our patrol, the intruders went back to their side. A complaint for breach of the ceasing-fire has been lodged with U N. military observers.

On the same day, civilian villager left Keran at 5-30 p. m. towards Bor to cut grass. At 8.30 p. m. shots were heard from an area north of Bor. The villager has not returned. It is presumed that he has been killed or has been abducted by Pakistan. A complaint for breach of cease-fire has been lodged with the U. N. military observers.

No Bodies Found

"A team of U. N. observers accompanied by our sector commander and the head constable involved in the ambush mentioned over visited the scene of the encounter on Feb. 25. They found a light machine-gun; a rifle and sten cartridges. The letter had the following marks : '7 POF 1955' and grenade four second fuses.

"No bodies were found at site. A padded waist-coat and torn bits of clothing and buttons were found

lying near the Kishenganga river. From the indications found on the site. It appears that the bodies of the persons killed had been thrown into the river.

"It is understood that another team of U. N. observers will visit the site today. A Pakistani representative will also reach the site for a joint inspection on Feb. 27." —(N H. 29.2.64

Entire policy of Pakistan Government is on deceit, mischief, provocation and mis-creation. Mr. Ayub wants to assume same powers as sometimes assumed by Hitler Dictator of Germany. He also wants to follow his footsteps and he wants to weaken India by means of hooks and crooks. Pakistan also tried to secret alliances and treatise against India with those powers. The example of China & Portugal is before us because China is against India and she has committed an aggression on the territory of India. Therefore, irrespective of principle and policy Pakisian is pleasing China and making every effort for its appeasement though there is nothing common either in principle or culture between China and Pakistan Pakistan also supported Portugal in her colonieal policy in India and opposed the liberation of Goa. All this shows that the

policy of Pakistan is nothing but to harm Indian Govt. A recent happening and misleading some I. A. F. plane by Pakistan radio is given by the High Commissioner as under.

"Pakistan Private Radio Misleading I A F Planes

NEW DELHI, Feb 28—Pakistan has been deliberately misdirecting Indian Air Force planes flying over Jammu and Kashmir and giving them wrong bearing to lead them to the Chaklala aerodrome near Rawalpindi.

A radio station located in Pakistan territory had "deliberately and mischievously" given misdirection to two Indian Air Force planes searching for the IAF Ilyushin missing since February 17.

This was the subject matter of a protest lodged by India yesterday with Pakistan.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. Asad Hussain, was summoned to the External Affairs Ministry by Mr. C. S. Jha, Commonwealth Secretary, to receive the protest note.

The protest pointed out that two IAF planes searching for the missing Ilyushin were given misdirection by the unknown ground station in Pakistan territory. On Feb 28 morning the

have taken the aircraft to Chaklala (near Rawalpindi) if the commanders of the aircraft concerned had not known their ground position.

The Indian note warned that the consequence of such misdirection "can be most serious" and hoped that the Pakistan Government would ensure that such case of mischievous and dangerous misdirection do not originate from a radio station in Pakistan or Pakistan controlled territory."—UNI. (N. H. 29-2-64)

the neighbours of India and Pakistan are of the opinion that the policy of Pakistan is the policy of her expansionism and hatred against India. Kabul radio also endorsed this contention of the world opinion on 17th March, 64. Radio of Afganistan has accused Pakistan for her policy on Kashmir in the following radio broadcast.

"Kabul Radio Charges Pak With Policy of Expansionism"

Kabul radio has accused Pakistan of spreading misleading and fabricated reports about Kashmir in order to satisfy its colonial and evil designs.

According to a Kabul Radio broadcast monitored here Pakistan was being assisted in this propaganda by its western military allies.

The radio said Pakistan had entered into a conspiracy with these military allies and its policy was governed by expansionism.

The broadcast recalled that Pakistan had sent 115 troops into Kashmir in 1947 in the guise of tribal raiders.

Referring to Pakistan's attitude towards the Pakhtoons' demand for self-determination, Kabul radio asked how Pakistan recognised its propaganda

The Deputy Minister, who was making a statement in reply to a call attention motion tabled by Mr. Nath Pai, said that security forces were alive to the situation and were taking such general precautions as were necessary to prevent the movement of the group.

Mr. Nath Pai drew the attention of the deputy minister to the escape of a similar group from Nagaland to Pakistan sometime ago and asked whether the failure to prevent such groups from crossing over to Pakistan did not reflect on the "sad state of our defence.

Mr. Dinesh Singh said the Prime Minister had already, in a statement, mentioned that because of the terrain and jungle growths it was possible for a group to split itself and reform at any place.

Replying to further questions by Mr. H. V. Kamath and Mr. N. R. Laskar, Mr. Dinesh Singh denied that the Government were either unwilling or unable to prevent the movement of such groups—PTL."

(N. H. 26/2/64.)

Pakistan has also trying and spreading misleading and fabricated news against India on the border of India and Pakistan. Pakistan is also trying to extend her territory to satisfy its colonial and evil design. All the progressive countries of the world including

ment of Pakhtunistan on the point of bullets and bombs. If a plebiscite is held in this area I think Pakistan will not get even 2% of votes in her favour and more than 98% votes will go in favour of Pakhtunistan. The Government of Afganistan has rightly demanded for establishing Pakhtunistan in that area, but because Western powers do not want to give the right of self determination for the Pathans and they are helping Pakistan in supressing the movement of Pakhtunistan, therefore, the independent Pakhtunistan has not been established and the entire Pathans of this territory have been focibly put undet the tyrenic rule of Pakistan's dictatorship. Cruelty and tyrenies of Pakistan against Pakhtuns are known in every Nation of the World, and the people of this area have been made slaves and Pakistan have supressed their movement with the aid of large number of her army. This is against all International laws and U. N. Charter.

Bluchistan is also a subjcct for the tragedy and focible slavery of Pakistan. When India & Pakistan were divided, Khan of Qualat

in the name of self determination for Kashmir with its denial of the Pakhtoons' right of self-determination".

Really it is very strange that on one hand Pakistan Government has suppressed ruthlessly the democratic and freedom movement inside Pakistan and has established a totalitarian Govt. under the dictatorship of Ayub and on the other hand they harp the cry for plebiscite in Kashmir. Every Nation of the world knows it very well that 98 percent people of East Bengal want independent and free Bengal and they want to sever their connection from the Govt. of Pakistan. They want to establish a democratic Govt. in their country but Pakistan is forcibly occupying their land in the name of Islam. If Pakistan agree to concede demand of plebiscite in East Pakistan, 98% of the population will cast their votes in favour of cession of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The same case is with Pakhtunistan. 98% Pathans of North West Frontier and tribal area want to establish independent Pakhtunistan and want to sever its connections from the Govt. of Pakistan, but the dictatorship in Pakistan is forcibly and ruthlessly suppressed their move-

"Pak Bucheries In Dir State

Over 100 freedom fighters were killed and many others wounded when pakis-tani troops, ruthlessly crushed a recent armed revolt by people of Dir State in North-West Pakistan according to delayed reports received here from across the cease-fire line.

The revolt, which lasted nearly three weeks ending in the first week of June, resulted in a pitched armed show-down between armed Dirs and Pakistani troops.

The freedom fighters demanded that Dir be declared an independent State since the treatment meted out by the Pakistan authorities to it was "treacherous."

The Dirs attempted to occupy Government buildings and other places where army officers were stationed.

According to the reports, the freedom fighters, aided by the local population, set fire to the residence of an officer and killed a number of others.

There was a complete collapse of the law and order machine in Dir State for three weeks.

The main areas where armed clashes took place were Dosha Khel and Lara."

Pakistan who is a champion of plebiscite in Kashmir, why not concedes the

did not want to accede to Pakistan and he openly refused to sign the instrument of accession in favour of Pakistan. He tried to negotiate with the Government of India for accession to India, but because Bluchistan was far from India and there was no corridor to reach Bluchistan from India, therefore, the Indian Government did not think it proper to allow accession of Bluchistan with India. Bluchies are always against Pakistan and they regard themselves as slave under the Government of Pakistan. All the prominent leaders of Bluchistan and North West Frontier Province jointly and separately started agitation against Pakistan. Consequently all their prominent leaders and statesmen were put behind the prison bars. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, apostle of peace, non violence and truth, Khan Abdul Samad Khan and other prominent leaders who were representatives in true sence of the public of Bluchistan and N. W. F. were put under detention and some of them are still facing such sorts of tyrenies which are unknown in the civilised World. Even in occupied Kashmir Pakistan committed bucheries.

acceded to India finally and legally in the constituent Assembly. Now it is a fraud and mischief to reopen the question of plebiscite.

All the neutral countries of the world including Chekoslovakia, and Russia have realised this fact and supported the verdict of the people of Kashmir, and have declared unequivocally that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

The Great Britain now is a supporter of plebiscite in Kashmir, never accepted the principle of plebiscite for Ireland. The British Parliament framed rule at the time of their withdrawal from India regarding the accession of states either to India or Pakistan and under these rules the rulers were given the discretion for accession of their states to either country. According to these rules formed by British Government, ruler of Kashmir acceded to India. It is very funny that British Government contrary to her own rules and procedure adopted in their own Parliament is opposing the accession of the ruler of Kashmir and supporting demand for plebiscite. Kashmir was acceded to India according to these principles of the British Parliament.

demand of her own country men to allow plebiscite in East Pakistan, in Bluchistan and in N. W. F. and in tribal areas. Really it is very objectionable that the State sovereignty and National integrity of India was challenged in U. N. council by a neighbouring country. Those representatives of west who claim to be friends of India betrayed India in the U. N. council. The Great Britain and U. S., both of them are in a competition race to make pocket of Pakistan in Asia, and are directly or indirectly helping her due to their own selfish motive though they are also in wrong notion and belief, because the policy of Pakistan Government is so shaky that no Government of any country can rely on her. On the one hand Pakistani is a member of Anti-communist block i.e. Nato and Seato and on the other hand Pakistan is an ally with communist China and her relation with the Peoples Republic of China are so mutual and cordial that both these countries have to join hands in aggression against Indian territory. Inspite of it Britain and America are helping Pakistan. In Kashmir where the people have given their verdict in favour of India and have

The spokesman also noted simultaneous belligerent outcries in the Pakistan press demanding in a "jihad" against India on the Kashmir issue.

The spokesman said that the approach on the part of Pakistan clearly showed that what it was interested in was not a peaceful settlement of the problem but rousing passions and creating tension.

The spokesman said that Mr. Bhutto's speech in the Security Council synchronised with the raising of the cry "jihad" and demand for crossing the cease fire line in the Pakistan areas.

According to reports in the Pakistan press, the spokesman said, the general council of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference meeting in Rawalpindi on February 2 asked "the Kashmir liberation board" to take "practical steps for crossing the cease-fire line."

The spokesman declined to comment on the possible reasons for these outcries, but agreed with a questioner that it could be an attempt to bring pressure on the Security council, besides rousing passions and creating tension."

Really it is very strange and painful that the United Kingdom and United States did not utter a single word to condemn the atrocities of Pakistan against the minorities in the East and West Pakistan. The small

The United Nations appointed some observers to look after the cease fire line between India and occupied Kashmir. These observers reported several times to U. N. that Pakistan in violations of the cease fire line forcibly and illegally occupied some land in Kashmir and has crossed the cease fire line. It is evident that Pakistan has no locus standi to occupy any part of Kashmir but the United States and U. K. are supporting the illegal occupation of Pakistan in the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. They have not moved any resolution and have not uttered a single word to vacate the aggression of Pakistan from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir in U. N. But on the other hand Security Council several times listened threat of Bhutto and Ayub for resumption of hostility in Kashmir.

"Bhutto Hints At Resumption Of Hostilities

NEW DELHI, Feb. 5.—A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry today described as "transparent" the indirect hint about "resumption of hostilities" in Kashmir given by Mr. Bhutto in his speech before the Security Council.

WAR MONGERS

As soon as the military Dictatorship was established in Pakistan under the Dictator Ayub all the democratic forces and opposition parties in Pakistan were ruthlessly suppressed by Military Dictator. Not only this but some of the opposition leaders in East and West Pakistan were also put behind the prison bars and they were treated in the prison like criminals. To divert the attention of the people of Pakistan, Dictator Ayub like other Dictators raised a slogan that Pakistan is in danger and India is the enemy of Pakistan. There was no difference between the pattern of Hitler and Dictator Ayub, if there was any difference it was that Hitler was dreaming to establish a German Empire in the World for Nazi party of Germany but Dictator Ayub was dreaming to establish Dictatorship of Pakistan for the selfish ends of his own as well as for his family members and relations. Till the end of his dictatorship, Hitler was unmarried, and he has no children or relations though he married in the last period of his life. But the family members and relations

states of Western countries represented in the security Council due to the fear of these big powers could not condemn Pakistan for their illegal occupation of Kashmir and for the atrocities on minorities. However, some of the Western countries indirectly dis-approved the communal hysteria of Pakistani fanatics. It is, therefore, evident that issue of plebiscite before the Security Council is a farce due to illicit alliance of U. K. with Pakistan and other imperialist powers who have an evil design to establish their military and air stations in the territory of Pakistan for their own selfish end. The independent nations who are not the members of Nato and seato, are telling truth in the Security Council and they have emphatically described and told the Nations of the World that accession of Kashmir with India is final, and Kashmir is an integral part of India.

After re-election Ayub started a campaign of hatred against India in Pakistan as well as abroad. He also supported Chinese aggression openly against India and vehemently opposed the aid given to India by her friendly countries. Not only this but dictator Ayub spent a large amount of the budget of his country to strengthen the army and to purchase deadly weapons. He obtained large quantity of arms and amunitions from the Western countries like America and England assuring them to fight against Communism, and in this way dictator Ayub deceived Western countries showing himself as anti-communist. The idea for securing this aid from the Western countries was only to use these arms and amunition against India, and when enough aid was secured from the Western countries, dictator Ayub mobilized Pakistan army and ordered to march them on the border of Kashmir as well as on the other borders of India and Pakistan, both in East and West Pakistan. Several times cease fire line was crossed and violated by the Pakistan army in Kashmir. Not only this but Pakistan's dictator also invaded the Indian territory in Runn of Kutch and occupied

of Ayub Khan are placed in the high positions in the Government as well as in the public life. He was mostly advised and guided by his family members than by other Government officers, and he did every thing for the benefit of his family members and relations. He first time assuming the dictatorship of Pakistan became the self made President of Pakistan Government, and when he suppressed all the opposition forces against him, he made a farce of the indirect election in East and West Pakistan. No body dared to contest the election against him. Miss Fatma Jinha sister of Mohd. Ali Jinha contested the election as opposition leader but all the official machinery of Pakistan was moved to mobilize support in favour of dictator Ayub. Consequently people were so frightened that majority of voters casted their votes in favour of dictator Ayub due to the fear of their lives. The result was this that dictator Ayub was elected President of Pakistan by means of hooks and crooks and those who opposed Ayub were buchured in Karachi as well as in other places with the hands of his relatives and family members and their dead bodies were thrown into the sea and rivers.

Kashmir and she tried to mislead the countries of the world for describing them as Mujahids of Azad Kashmir. These soldiers were sent in the various parts of Jammu and Kashmir alongwith arms and ammunitions. They crossed the cease fire line on 5th of August, 1965 and began to murder people including women and Children destroyed buildings, mosques and vehicles. Now there was no course open to India except to meet the situation and clear the valley of Jammu and Kashmir by sending her regular army.

"Pakistan's Gamble..... Why ?

What are India's objectives in the recent military moves against Pakistan ? Many fears have been raised, not only abroad but in our country too.

What could be India's intention ? She giving up in a day the policy of peace to which she has consistently adhered during the eighteen years since she attained independence ? Where has the idealism gone that had in 1948 stopped her army almost at the point of final victory, when India accepted

some portion of this area illegally and mischievously. India was unaware from the movement of Pakistan army, and she never believed that dictator Ayub can go to such an extent to invade India. This was done in the month of may and June, 1965. India lodged a strong protest against this treacherous deed and illegal occupation of Indian territory by Pakistan. Her eyes were opened after Pakistans' invasion but as India isa democratic country and is the biggest democracy in the world, therefore, it was not possible for her to take action against Pakistan without taking the representatives of Indian people in confidence. Any how, this dispute was settled due to some intervention by the British Government. Pakistan accepted British proposals and vacated the area of Runn of Kutch. India who captured two posts in Kashmir vacated in good faith. But on one hand this agreement was going to be signed between India and Pakistan, on the other hand Pakistan was preparing a plan to invade Kashmir which is the integral part of India. Pakistan mischevously sent the personnel of Pakistan army in plain clothes beyond the cease fire line in the area of Jammu and

the cease-fire line to the point of total collapse was referred to in the report of the U. N. Secretary-General. And he left no one in doubt that the responsibility lay with Pakistan.

Although India's defensive crossing of the cease-fire line in Kashmir was generally accepted, there is some questioning now of some of India's later moves. The crux of the matter would appear to be that while any military measures adopted by India within Kashmir could be well understood and supported, even limited actions else-where can be questioned.

Did India allow herself to be stampeded into extending the area of conflict by the exigencies of the military situation? Or was she forced by circumstances to act as she did, howsoever reluctantly, to meet a grave threat to her integrity?

The Chhamb Story

Time was of the essence, and this dictated the pace of events following the Pakistani crossing of the Jammu-West Punjab international boundary on September 1.

Pakistan's attack in Chhamb was aimed at key positions controlling the lines of India's communications. The objective was to wrest from India control of the vital road link between Kashmir and the rest of India, and thus isolate the Indian troops in the state along the cease-fire line with Pakistan as well as those guarding the Sino-Indian border in Ladakh.

United Nations call for a cease fire in Kashmir? Has that respect for international authority yielded place to cynicism? Has she lost her conviction that victory is not won on the battlefield.

Has she lost her faith in trying to live at peace with neighbours even when they constantly provoke and irritate? Where has her patience disappeared and whence has come this demonstration of strength? What has become of her plea going back to the days of Korean war against extension of conflict and for containment of war?

So men ask. That these questions are even allowed to be asked in against war-mindedness. That they are asked abroad is a measure of the world's inherent faith in India's role and ideals.

The Questioning

What gives point to these anxious question is that they were not raised in August 1965 when Indian troops crossed the cease fire line and occupied posts and places in the areas of Kashmir under Pakistani occupation in order to cut off the basis and supply lines of the armed raiders who had been crossing the cease-fire line into the Kashmir valley. That action was readily recognised as legitimate, and as the bare minimum which India had to undertake to stop further entry of raiders disguised or undisguised, armed or otherwise. This ready acceptance was a corollary to the establishment, beyond a doubt of a Pakistani invasion of Kashmir, the second since partition. The "deterioration" of the cease-fire and

The story of the defence of the Chhamb-Jaurian area will one day be fully written. Men of the Indian Army and of the Air Force, realising that this was a question of India's survival as a nation threw themselves into the battle with epic daring. With little armour support, in a territory where the odds were all against them, they flung themselves before the advancing hordes. But their daring and sacrifice could not overcome the overwhelmingly adverse factors of terrain and Pakistan's superior armour. Many perished and every moment the threat to India grew more menacing.

This threat was real and it was imminent. Even before New Delhi launched effective counter measures, foreign correspondents were saying that India had little choice in the matter. She would have to act elsewhere, before it was too late.

Before it was too late. To act before it was too late was the question. Having already lost precious days trying to contain the war within Kashmir. India had to think on her feet. Here was a matter not of military strategy but of defending freedom that was in peril. The life-line of that freedom was in jeopardy. It has to be saved.

Simple Act Of Defence

Heady with her triumphs a Chhamb, Pakistan even made rocket attacks in Amritsar. The reckless act would surely have led to full-scale conflict. But Pakis

Pakistan be allowed to achieve this objective? One should think of the consequences. Pakistan's purpose was not merely to go to the support of the armed infiltrators who had received no support whatsoever from the people of Kashmir. It was not merely an unconcealed invasion of the state to accomplish what the exercise in disguised assault had failed to achieve. What Pakistan aimed at was the destruction of sizeable sections of the Indian Army, and with that accomplished to challenge the security of India.

How else would one explain the massive concentration of armour and air power to support an equally massive deployment of infantry? On September 1 when the Chhamb invasion was launched, Pakistan moved in with two tank regiments, supported by artillery. The U. N. Secretary-General has in his report said that this has been in substance confirmed by the U. N. military observers.

Big Gamble

To commit a large chunk of the country's armour and air power in a single action is a big gamble with the security of other regions. Yet this was deliberately undertaken. Why? The answer is simple. Pakistan wanted to make it the decisive battle, the final battle for India. The stakes were high—the cutting of Kashmir's road link with India, the sealing of some of the crack troops of the Indian Army and the humiliation of India. With these high stakes, any gamble seemed worth taking. And it almost came off.

ed. The endless preaching of jehad (holy war) and communal hate was countered with a policy of patience. And more recently even the aggression in Kutch was condoned.

What was the result? Pakistan became increasingly convinced that nothing would provoke India. It was this conviction that emboldened them to send infiltrators on a large scale into Kashmir in August 1965, infiltrators who were being trained for this fell purpose even while negotiations were going on for cease-fire in Kutch. It was this conviction that inspired the Chhamb crossing. Pakistan was certain that India would treat even this as a mere incident. This time, however, Pakistan miscalculated. There was a limit even to India's patience.

Deadly Climax

The story of aggression did not start in Chhamb. It had its climax in Chhamb a deadly climax India had at last been forced to do what in all her years of independent existence she had sought to avoid, and beseeched the world to avoid. That was the hour of India's tragedy and of Pakistan's triumph—this relentless march of events towards the inevitability of an extended military action.

The Indian objective is limited. It is to invalidate Pakistan's capacity to resist at the integrity. It is to assert that the war will not be escaped. It is a demonstration of

tan was full of self confidence, for were not Pakistani troops massed all along the Indian border? So far as the Indian action was concerned, it was a simple act of defending the freedom and integrity that had been threatened and India's action had lightening effect. At once the pleasure relented in Chhamb and India was saved.

India was not inspired by any 'tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye' philosophy. She had sought patiently for eighteen years, despite repeated provocations, to live at peace with Pakistan. The massive invasion launched by Pakistan on September 1, however left India with no option.

Cowardice And Violence

India went into battle, with no arrogance about her military strength but conscious of an essential duty which she owed to herself and perhaps in some measure to the cause of freedom. We had no illusions of victory or defeat: for in a war nobody wins: "Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence. I would advise violence," Gandhi once said. And to have run away from what was forced on us would indeed have been cowardice.

Peace India desires with all her mind and heart, but not peace that would lead India to give away her freedom that she had dearly won to those who bargained their way to statehood.

For years, India had acted with forbearance. The constant violations of the cease-fire line were overlook

Egypt, pro-South Africa, pro-Portuguese colonialism, Western alliance, Chinese friendship? The only consistency in all this was anti-Indianism.

Pakistan's anti-Indian posure was bolstered by the massive military assistance she received from the Western powers—starting from the U. S. Pakistan Military Assistance Pact through various other alliances like SEATO and CENTO. She has amassed tanks armoured personnel carriers, heavy artillery, supersonic aircraft and submarines. All these were given in the name of anti-communism but were received, with unconcealed glee, as weapons of offence to be used against India. Pakistan never made a secret of her intention to use this equipment against India. And she has now proceeded to use it in a big way.

Armed Arrogance

There is hardly any other instance where a sizeable state like Pakistan has built up its entire military power on "aid". Without the equipment given for a definite purpose, Pakistan could not even have thought of launching this attack on Indian freedom. Even after the massive Chinese attack on India, the Western military aid promised to India was not even one-eighth of the aid given to Pakistan. And the Western powers have been consistently blackmailed by Pakistan into denying India even limited supplies of tanks and supersonic aircraft.

And it is this massive aid that has buttressed

but of resolve. India does not believe in teaching Pakistan a lesson. Yet she has to awaken Pakistan to an awareness of the Indian reality.

This, to some extent, is an answer to the fears of India's friends. And as India seeks to answer, more questions arise. How does India propose to counter the charge that she is seeking to annul the partition by superior force? After all Pakistan is a small country whom India does not have to fear. But is it? A country of a hundred million people is not small by any standard. After a certain point, relative populations do not make any difference to relative military strength.

Consistent Anti-Indianism

The concept of Pakistan was a blow aimed at Indian nationalism. A complete effacement of the Indian personality soon became the passionate objective of the Pakistani rulers. "Hate India" was the sustenance of this unresl leadership which with impunity, denied the people of Pakistan a voice in their Government a right to modern development and the dignity of living as free beings.

As has been recorded by many students of Pakistan's internal and foreign policy, the single aim of these feudal oligarchs, who had come to ower riding the crest of the wave of communal chauvinism, was to destroy India. Can there be any other explanation for the many shifts of policy—pro-Soviet anti-West. pro-West, anti-

therefore, in these matters she strictly followed a policy of non-interference.

India has always recognised that Pakistan is a settled fact. There is no question of annulling it. But what India would like to annul is the legacy of communal hate left by the partition. It was to this cause that Gandhi fell a martyr

India has constantly endeavoured to seek a larger unity with Pakistan based on common concern for the welfare of the people. President Radhakrishnan referred to the people of Pakistan as our kith and kin" in a national broadcast on September 11. "We have friendly feelings for the people of Pakistan... There are more things which bind us together than keep us apart." he said.

Conflict Thrust Upon Us

It would be futile to look for a deeper purpose in an action dictated only by the paramount need to protect India's hard-won freedom, a freedom won by our national movement as much for India as for Pakistan. The crossing into the Lahore sector had the limited objective of saving India's life-line which was being threatened in Chhamb. Pakistan replied by attacking the centres of Indian defensive strength over the length and breadth of India from Jamnagar to Calcutta. Thus the limited Indian action to contain Pakistan's offensive at Chhamb took on, in the words of President Ayub Khan, "a grimmer aspect".

Despite continued provocation and efforts to ext-

pakistani arrogance, an arrogance that spoke of the Indian army on the run not only in Kutch but in the Chhamb area. It is this that let President Ayub Khan to say in his recent broadcast that India did not realise what she had taken on.

If Pakistan were really afraid of Indian military strength, would she have embarked on the Chhamb crossing? The fact is that Pakistan believed she could bully India into submission with this impressive equipment.

A Settled Fact

If it were true that India had never reconciled herself to partition and now intended to annul it. It was a poor way of going about it to agree to a ceasefire in Kutch, and to agree to the referring of the so-called dispute to a tribunal.

If India really meant to annul the partition, she would have lent positive help to the movement for freedom in the frontier areas of Pakistan, East Bengal's struggle against West Pakistani domination; to the growing new movement of the progressive Pakistani youth which has little patience with the obscurantist slogans of communal hate. With all these forces India has deep sympathy, more particularly with the forces led by that noble fighter of freedom's battle, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. With these factors along with the geographical situation of the two wings of Pakistan, subversion of the Pakistani state would have been easy. But such was never India's intention and,



end the war to the Eastern sector, India has shown the utmost restraint. When border incidents did not break India's patience, Pakistan went in for outright attacks Cooch Behar, air strikes at Bagdogra, threatening flights over Gauhati, and the air-dropping of men over wide areas of Assam. Of whose seeking is this wanton extension of the fighting?

The Indian commitment to the united Nations is acknowledged by the Secretary-General in his detailed report. India not only agreed to honour the cease-fire and the cease-fire line in Kashmir; she withdrew from Kargil at UN's request and on an assurance that Pakistan would not attack the vital Leh road. And the Secretary-General has recorded that Pakistan would not honour that assurance.

Fuadamental Principles.

The President, in his national broadcast said: "In the midst of this 'tragic conflict, thrust on us by our neighbour, I wish to remind you that we should not and cannot forget our traditions, our ideals and our history. We detest war and all its horrors. Our troops have so far only fought for the defence of our land. They went to Korea, many years ago, at the behest of the United Nations, for the Safeguarding of peace, They went to the Congo, again, at the behest of the United Nations, to prevent the development of the conflict in the Congo into a fratricidal war.

The campaigns of 1962 were inflicted on us by

diary of a Pakistani Air Forces bomber pilot. The entries were made as early April 20, 1965 (18 Zil Hajj), three and a half months before the armed infiltration into Kashmir. The diary was recovered from the pilot after his B-57 bomber had been shot down by the Indian Air Force near Jamnagar on September 7, 1965.

The broad meaning of the entries is as follows:

Part I: Four armament day sorties of 2 hours and 30 minutes duration, at low level (L L), each carrying four 100-lb. bombs, two 2.75" Folding Fin Air Rockets and two 20 m. m. guns carrying 75 rounds each.

Part II: The programmer of the pilot's flight for the day comprised two aircraft by day and three aircraft by night with the following armament:

External Stores: Four 750-lb. bombs; four pods of seven rockets each of 2.75" Folding Fin Air Rockets;

Internal Stores: Four 750-lb bombs and seven flares.

The mission was also to carry 20 m. m. rounds in guns.

The last entry on the page suggests that the P.A.F. pilot had planned attacks on Adampur (Ad), Halwara (Hal), Ambala (Amb), Palam (pal.) Agra (Agra), Bhuj, and Jamnagar (Jamnagar). The tick marks under Adampur, Halwara, Ambala, Palam, and Jamnagar show that his flight had actually been over those places.

light of freedom in Asia." Mr Grigg compares the present dilemma to the one that Abraham Lincoln faced, and history has vindicated Lincoln.

An Honest Answer

YET for the moment there are doubts and these have troubled India too. This is India's honest answer to the many questions that have been raised. India wants to assure herself as much as the world that her faith in the United Nations and in peace remains undimmed.

India does not seek to plough a lonely furrow. Her freedom was conceived in the context of a new world order. She was among the first countries to proclaim that idealism was greater than diplomacy and that she would, along with others, be prepared to surrender a part of her sovereignty to a world system. Let the world help India preserve that broader vision.

Let the world not still India's voice for Peace, perhaps a lone voice for democracy in Asia. Let her passion for the rule of international authority not be stifled. There really cannot be a conflict between India's freedom and her world ideal. Without protecting the one, she cannot work for the other. It is for the peoples of the entire world to ensure that India is free to carry forward her battle for international sanity-

Page 1 from APakistani Diary

To the right is a photostat copy of a page from the

criminals as committed by Hitler in the 2nd world war by ordering his army in the dream of world German Empire into the aggression of Pakistan thousands of Jawans of Pakistan were thrown into the fire of canons for which even God (Khuda) 'cannot forgive not only this but she committed following Act of aggression against India first.

"Pakistan 'Firsts' In Action Against India

NEW DELHI Sept. 10.—Pakistan can claim several "firsts" in its recent aggression against India.

After inducting 3,000 to 5,000 armed raiders into Kashmir on August 5, Pakistan was the first to escalate the fighting in other parts of the country.

Pakistan forces were the first to cross the international border in the Chhamb sector on September 1. Pakistan was the first to introduce tank warfare in the same sector on that day.

Pakistan was the first to intro.

India was compelled to cross cease fire line in Jammu & Kashmir to throw out infiltrators. when Indian army was busy to remove the infiltrators from Jammu & Kashmir who entered illegally after crossing cease fire line in Kashmir. Pakistan sent regular army in the Chamb area of Jammu after crossing the International boundary in the Chamb area of Jammu after crossing the International boundary of India and Pakistan. Thus in this way Pakistan, committed naked aggression against India. India was compelled to take action to prevent further aggression on Indian soil. when to counteract Pakistan's aggression, India crossed International boundary in Punjab and Rajasthan, dictator Ayub declared a total war against India but inspite of this India did not declare war against Pakistan. President of India in his broadcast openly declared that India has no ill will against the people of Pakistan. India is taking action only to wipe out the aggression launched by Pakistan by crossing International boundary of Jammu & Kashmir which is a integrated part of India. The Pakistani dictator with all his power thrust his army in to the war front and committed the same action of war

OPPORTUNISM

India has no military alliance with any country nor she is a party of any military alignment either in Communist or non-communist country. The foreign policy of India is to remain neutral and to consider every problem in the light of truth and honesty. Some other countries also followed this policy of India and they supported foreign policy of Indian Govt. with a great appreciation. Russia which is a communist country also supported India in view of his high ideals and good traditions. Some Muslim countries like Egypt and Malaysia also supported Indian foreign policy and praised her policy of co-existence with other countries but there are some countries which have imperialistic design and followed a policy of expansionism. These countries did not like the principles and ideals of Indian foreign policy. China who wants to expand Chinese imperialism in India and in other countries also attacked India in 1962. Pakistan which was ally of Santo and Neto and is a partner in the anti-communitarian block, supported China in her aggression against India and when Pakistan committed aggression against India. China supported Pakistan who is a member of

the fighting in support of her ground forces in Chhamb. The Pakistan Air Force has been bombing our civilian and military targets indiscriminately.

Pakistan was again the first to widen the area of conflict on September 5 by openly intruding into Indian air space across the international border at Wagah and firing rockets at our air force unit in Amritsar,

In a broadcast on September 6, President Ayub Khan threw off his mask and declared: "we are at war". This was the first time a responsible Pakistani leader talked officially of "war".

An Indian official spokesman said the same day that India was not at war either with the people of Pakistan or with the state of Pakistan.

Pakistan was the first to take the fighting to the sea. On September 7, it "impounded" two Indian merchant navy vessels of the India Steam Navigation Company.

On the morning of September 8, Pakistan used her navy and, for no rhyme or reason, bombarded Dwarka port on the coast of Kathiawar. Dwarka, an ancient religious place, has no military installations nor did it have any aircraft there."

wasted millions of dollars for supplying arms & ammunitions to Pakistan for nothing. Now the whole world know that the policy of Pakistan is based on opportunism and Govt. of Pakistan is a body of Capitalist muslims who achieved their selfish ends on the cost of 10 crores Pakistanies.

Really it is very strange and unfortunate that Pakistan secured military aid from America and England to use it against communist countries but now this aid is being used in favour of China. Pakistan gave assurance to America and England that she will never use this military aid against India but now it is being used against India. Pakistan has been fully exposed in the eyes of the Nations of the world.

America also gave assurance that she will support India if Pakistan shall at any time use arms against India. Some of the extracts are as follows in National Herald dated 19th September, 1965.

anti-communist block and is an allied western power of Neto and Sento. This is nothing but a worst type of opportunism in the world. Russia always stuck on her high ideals of her ideology openly declared that her policy towards India is the same as it was before. Some western powers who were supporting Pakistan, their eyes were opened & reached on the conclusion that Pakistan has no principle except opportunism. They understood that dictator Ayub shall throw Pakistan into war and the consequences of the war shall be borne by the Pakistan people for nothing. Like other dictators Ayub also adopted the policy of Harping Bogy of war and danger for Islam, though Islamic countries cared a little for this slogan of Ayub & they rightly understood that Ayub is raising the slogan of war for diverting the attention of Pakistan people to achieve his selfish end. Some of them warned Pakistan's dictator against the consequences of war's evils but Ayub was so blind that he cared a bit for those who were his well wishers. He did not care a little for the advice of America & England who gave cent percent military aid to Pakistan and I think they also reached on the conclusion that they

initiated by Pakistan with Chinese technical advice. The timing, the pattern and strength of infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir, the heavy-armoured mass attack in Chhamb, aimed at cutting off the Jammu and Kashmir life-lines and the dropping of trained paratroopers for sabotage bear an unmistakable Chinese stamp.

The propaganda techniques employed by the Pakistan radio in suppression distortion and stacking of facts is also modelled on the Chinese methods.

Chinese Threat

The Chinese Premier recently condemned what he called "India's massive armed attack on Pakistan" and said that "it would not have been launched without the consent and support of U. S." His pledging of Chinese 'firm support' to Pakistan and warning Indian Government that "it must bear full responsibility for all consequences arising from its extended aggression." shows that the Chinese are willing to put "pressures on its southern neighbours" as Mr. Dean Rusk, the U. S. Secretary of state said on September 8, It also shows another ulterior aim—gradually to tighten its tentacles on Pakistan's ruling clique.

That Pakistan has been able successfully to "blackmail" the U. S. Government for over ten years shows duplicity which goes behind Pakistan's planning foreign policy.

"Grab Kashmir! The only guide to Pakistan's policy

For the last eighteen years Pakistan has tried every means of getting international support for its efforts to grab Kashmir by aggression.

First, it tried to woo the adjacent Muslim world with the slogan "Islam in danger—and Muslim world to unite against kafirs." This approach—absurd in the twentieth century—did not work.

Then it wooed the U. S. by entering into alliances against the Communist bloc. Pakistan's entry in CENTO and SEATO was not inspired by any deep desire to join a global anti-communist crusade but to gain further 'political leverage' from the West against India.

Finally, Pakistan linked itself with China through a series of commercial, cultural and—under cover—military agreements.

The recent offensive seems clearly to have been

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in his speech in the U.N. Security Council in February, 1957 warned the Council: "I want to repeat again, that all signs which I read out to the council in the statements by Gen. Ayub, all information that we have about the massing of troops all that goes on in the lobbies of the United Nations, which members may see in the press to morrow—this is all an indication of the repetition of the processes of 1947. And again we shall be told in this council that the Indian Army moved in first."

Despite American assurances that the pact was not aimed at India and that the United States would act swiftly to prevent the misuse of arms against India, India was quick to realise the adverse consequences this new development would have on Indo-Pakistan relations. Hense Pandit Nehru described it as "most unfortunate intervention".

Dilemma

Commenting on the situation created by massive U. S. military aid to Pakistan, an Indian paper said: "Americans find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. They feel that of all the under developed countries India alone is making good her plan of economic development and making a success of parliamentary democracy. They do not see similar progress in any other country in West Asia. (including Turkey) or in so East Asia who are willing to li . . . th . . . U."

During the past decade "the United States has poured 1.5 billion dollars worth of military aid into Pakistan every year. The supplies include huge quantities of offensive weapons—nearly 1,000 tanks, a truly fantastic number, armoured personnel carriers, heavy artillery, supersonic aircraft, including a squadron of F 104 Starfighters and last year a submarine.

Military Machine

The budget estimate of Pakistan during the last seven or eight years shows that it has been spending on an average about the same amount annually on her defence. In other words, the American military aid has been based on a matching cent per cent grant. During the last three years the provision for defence has been increased still further. For figures for the year 1964-65 and 1965-66 are Rs. 1,32,14 lakhs and Rs. 1,38,09 lakhs respectively. This is in addition to a substantial provision for defence purposes under the normal development expenditure. This huge military machine could not have been for defensive purposes.

In fact in December 1964 President Ayub drew focused attention to the fact that Kashmir was vital to Pakistan military. "Kashmir is a matter of life and death and therefore, it is not a question of our wanting anything, but we must invade Kashmir because we want it".

istence to purposes other than those for which it was furnished."

That the U. S. Government has begun to rethink and drastically readjust its policies is evident first from stopping of further military aid to Pakistan and secondly the realisation that any covert or overt encouragement given to President Ayub in his military ambition would only strengthen the hands of China.

in forming a security ring round the communist states. India refuses to join their camp.

Another dilemma in which the Americans are placed is that if they continue to supply military aid to Pakistan they would be forcing the hands of Indian enter in an arms race. An inevitable result of this will be the slowing down of the pace of economic development. Already one of the factors which makes planning in India difficult is the uncertainty about the extent of foreign aid that will be available for her Five Year Plans."

Mr. Chester Bowles the then U. S. Under Secretary of State, in a statement about the same time, went on record to the effect "America would be on the side of India if Pakistan committed aggression".

It was also conveyed to India that U. S. Government had expressed "considerable surprise and annoyance at Pakistan President Ayub Khan's attempt to use U. S. military aid as 'psychological lever' to force a settlement on Kashmir with India."

Under the mutual Security Pact of 1954, arms aid could be used for "internal security and legitimate self-defence." The Pact stipulated that the "Government of Pakistan will not without prior agreement of the Government of the United states, devote such ass-

against the congress movement in India to concede their demand. The British Govt. was assured by the muslim league leaders to retain her prestige, power and influence in Pakistan. The British Govt. inspite of the opposition of the majority of Muslim masses in India conceded this demand of Muslim League. Muslim League leaders without any sacrifice for the freedom of country gained Pakistan & became successful to divide India into two parts. After the division of India they tried to divert the attention of Muslims of Pakistan in religious dogmas and fanatic ideas in the name of Islam but they could not succeed to divert their attention for long in this way. The masses demanded the same facilities and same progress as in India. Subsequently more than a dozen Prime Ministers were deposed in less then a dozen years and the Muslim league become the most unpopular organisation throughout East & West Pakistan. In East Pakistan at the time of general election Muslim league was routed out and even their ministers were defeated on the poll very badly. An Anti Muslim league Govt. was formed in East Pakistan under the leadership of Mr. Shorawardi. The people of East Pakistan began

REMEDY

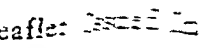
Now the question is, what is the remedy to end the conflict between India and Pakistan. There is only one remedy which can avert the conflict between India and Pakistan and can solve the problem for ever, i. e. both the countries be joined and artificial boundary of both the countries should be removed and become one as before partition. This is evident that partition of India was not based on any geographical or linguistic background. There is no natural barrier between the two parts. There is no separate language, culture or civilisation between the two parts, which are essential factors for the partition of any country. This partition is against any historical or logical basis. No such type of partition ever made in the history of the world. The language traditions culture and civilization in both the countries are same, The only idea behind the partition is religion. Muslim League, which enunciated the two nation theory between Hindus and Muslims was not only basically wrong but also mischievous and treacherous. There so-called muslim leaders in view of their personal gains, invented this theory and persuaded British Govt. in lieu of their unqualified support to the British Govt.

name of Islam. He also raised from India to divert the attention to continue himself as dictator. But Muslim countries of the world countrymen trusted him, and some in countries openly denounced fanatic dictator Ayub Khan and particularly the East Pakistan tried several times against the dictator but they were un-armed therefore, their movements was suppressed ruthlessly

"Revolt brewing in E. Pakistan

A revolt against the Ayub regime is brewing in Pakistan's eastern wing. Where a revolutionary organisation has threatened to establish a separate sovereign State of East Pakistan.

The revolt is spearheaded by the East Pakistan Revolutionary Council, which has advised the people in eastern wing of Pakistan to keep away from any conflict with India.

This appeal is contained in a leaflet: 

to feel that they were made slaves by the so called West Pakistan leaders. Therefore, they openly revolted against the leadership of West Pakistan and they tried to separate their country from the yoke of the slavery of West Pakistan. In West Pakistan also Muslim League began to fade and Muslim league Govt. in West Pakistan was over-thrown and a popular ministry under the leadership of Dr. Khan Sahib's elder brother of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was formed, but due to the conspiracy of some Muslim league leaders he was murdered. Therefore, Ayub Khan emerged as Military dictator and overthrew the popular Govt. in East and West Pakistan. He established a Military dictatorship and suppressed all the democratic forces and popular voices in East & West Pakistan, He promulgated Martial Law throughout the country and crushed all the public opinion with bullets. But he has also no programme or policy based on sound principles for the welfare of the masses. Therefore, he also could not divert the attention of the masses and could not satisfy the people of Pakistan from his military dictatorship. He tried to mislead the people of his own country as well as the people of the foreign countries in the

One of the leaflet said : "Till now, after the so-called independence, the vested interests in the General Government of Pakistan have done their best to create a division in East Pakistan with the heap of myrmidons".

Pointing out how East Pakistan is receiving a shabby treatment at the hands of Rawalpindi, the leaflet added that the bulk of foreign aid received by the Central Government by "mortgaging the country" was spent in the Western wing, although East Pakistan contributed three-fourths of the total revenue. This was despite the fact that the population in East Pakistan wants 7.5 crores, while that in the Western wing was only 3 crores.

The secret radio was heard, according to a local paper, to broadcast an unpublished letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to the late Mr. Suhrawardy shortly before partition. In this letter Gandhiji offered to work as an "honorary secretary" to Mr. Suhrawardy if he (Mr Suhrawardy) were sincere about his proposal for a united Bengal."

'East Pakistanis

Were Against

War With India

More than ten intellectuals in East Pakistan, including college professors, have been placed under virtual house

Bengali and distributed secretly throughout the province.

The leaflet says that Mr. Ayub Khan's Government should not be allowed to destroy East Pakistan and "if the situation demands, the Revolutionary Council will established a separate sovereign State of East Pakistan."

ENS reports from Calcutta : The headquarters of the Revolutionary Council is reported to be somewhere in the Chittogong hills. The Council has also started operating a secret radio station.

The organisation, known in Bengali as the "Purba Pakistan Bipjabi Parishad," has distributed its leaflets secretly in thousands throughout East Pakistan particularly in the border areas. A few copies are understood to have reached Agartala in Tripura State.

Reports about the political and economic situation in East Pakistan also are trickling down here from London and Rangoon where pakistanis are receiving letters regularly from their friends and relations at home.

Over one thousand people, including students, have been taken into custody to suppress the anti Ayub or anti-West Pakistan movement which has been spreading throughout the eastern wing. Most of the political leaders who are out have gone underground.

mination for Kashmiris it is not willing to grant autonomy and equality to East Bengal, this group says.

Their cause receives ready response from a majority of East Pakistanis who see ample evidence of Punjabi domination.

The National Awami Party has been split up into two factions—the pro-Chinese faction supporting Gen. Ayub and the independent left faction opposing the Rawalpindi rule.

An interesting feature of East Pakistan politics is that the Communists who are working through the National Awami Party, are mostly anti-Chinese, by and large they are Pro-Moscow.

3-Point Programme

The Awami Party progressives, who are supported by groups of left-wing students and intellectuals in London, have placed a three-point programme before the people—better relation with West Bengal including easier transit and trade facilities, communal peace and equality of status with West Pakistan.

Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong are three important centres of the leftist groups.

The growing hostility towards West Pakistan has given a new impetus to intellectual renaissance in the Eastern wing. There is renewed demand for books by Tagore and Kazi Nazrul, Islam. Bengali writers are

arrest for opposing the war against India, according to informed sources.

Nearly 250 people participated in the recent "no war" demonstration in Dacca organised by the leftist groups. A bigger demonstration was not planned advisedly because the organisers did not want the rank and file to be subjected to harassment.

As a result of the campaign by independent left groups, the Pakistan Government's attempts to whip up mass enthusiasm for its aggression against India did not cut much ice with the people of East Pakistan.

Maulana Bhasani, leader of the National Awami Parti. Who was persuaded to appeal to the people to join the ranks of "mujahids" for the invasion of Kashmir, has to face strong opposition from his lieutenants. Leaders of students and youth groups told the maulana that his call would harm the cause of East Pakistan.

Self-determination

The "no war-with India" campaigners argue that the Kashmir trouble had been started by the Ayub regime to keep itself in power and divert the attention of the masses from the failures of the Government. Pakistan's demand for self-determination in Kashmir could not be sustained so long as discrimination between the western and eastern wings of Pakistan continued. They believe: While the Ayub regime seeks self-deter-

to join in Pindi's chorus of "Islamic jehad against Hindu India."

The present crisis has been thrust upon the East Pakistanis. They were not consulted before the Kashmir adventure was launched: neither was their advice sought on the eve of acceptance of the cease-fire. President Ayub, in their opinion, treated East Pakistan as no better than a subservient colony.

Completely isolated from the western wing, as the result of the confrontation with India, East Pakistan is now ruled by commands issued over the wireless from Pindi. The people have come to realise, in bitter anger and humiliation, that in the name of Islamic unity their homeland has been reduced, during the past 18 years, politically, economically and particularly in the matter of defence, to the status of a helpless colony.

A month before the outbreak of Indo-Pak hostilities, Mr. Nurul-Amin, a former Chief Minister of East Pakistan and, now, Opposition leader, complained bitterly in the Pak National Assembly that the rulers in Pindi had cynically neglected the defence of his wing of the State. There was no Bengali army in East Pakistan, he said, no officer training college, no naval school, no ordnance factory not even a workshop for repair of military equipment.

Trail Of Evidence

of Pakis.

The very Noble Forel.

again turning to the old masters of Bengali literature for inspiration.

East Pakistan people's desire for communal harmony in the two neighbour countries has found eloquent expression in a large number of letters sent by leftists to their friends and contacts in West Bengal in which they have appealed for communal peace in West Bengal and other parts of India.—UNI."

“E. PAKISTAN IN REVOLT

By Samar Guha

Mr. Samar Guha, Secretary of the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party, argues on the strength of massive evidence that East Pakistan is in revolt against Pindi's "colonial" domination. The eastern wing has been treated as a colonial appendage of the west, its economy shattered by oppressive policies. East Pakistanis, the writer believes, are eager to break with Pindi and establish mutually beneficial links with India, if their freedom and integrity were to be preserved.

The picture of East Pakistan is not at all like the one the screaming propaganda over Dacca Radio would paint for us. The people of East Pakistan, who for the past 12 years have relentlessly challenged colonial domination by the Western wing, and demanded for themselves the right of self-determination, are out of sympathy with the anti India war hysteria unleashed by the Ayub regime. They are unwilling

people of East Pakistan into a grave economic crisis. Jute, the main crop of their agricultural economy, is selling at Rs.7 per maund, which is less than half the cost of Production. Rice sells at fantastic prices ranging between Rs.100 and Rs.150 a maund, Kerosene oil has practically vanished from the open market. Mustard oil is not available at less than Rs.15 per seer, and salt costs nearly Rs.8. Petrol has been drastically rationed.

Coal is getting scarcer and scarcer, and as a result train services have had to be partially curtailed, and in some cases wood charcoal is being used as a substitute. Consumer goods, for whose supply East Pakistan has to depend entirely on the factories in the West or on imported stocks in Karachi, are increasingly passing out of the average shopper's reach.

Heartless Policy

West Pakistani's leaders have deliberately betrayed the eastern wing's traditional economic ties with West Bengal, and thus converted this part of the State into a monopoly market for the commercial and industrial interests in Punjab and Sind. The consequences of this heartless policy have now come home to the people of East Pakistan is revealed as a hapless economic condition of the State's western wing. If the economic exploitation is not ended speedily, the economic future of East Pakistan will be in jeopardy.

Kashmir has never been a part of the State.

... tried to assuage these fears with the boastful assertion that if India dared set foot on East Pakistani soil, she would find Delhi over run by the West's armoured divisions. The brittleness of Mr. Bhutto's arrogant pledge has left a trail of frustration and alarm in East Pakistan.

Apart from massive American aid, Pakistan had spent till 1956 Rs 745 crores on defence; but of this only Rs.10 crores was allocated to the Eastern wing. During 1962-63, what this part of the state received out of a total central budget outlay of Rs.101 crores on defence was the paltry sum of one crore. After persistent agitation, just two Bengali regiments were raised; but these too ostensibly for purposes of higher training, have ever since been stationed in West Pakistan. Enrolment in the Air Force and the Navy of Bengali boys was never higher than a bare five per cent. As for the minority communities, there is a total taboo on their recruitment to any defence organisation. The armed wing of the police, which goes under the name of East Pakistan Rifles, is wholly controlled by Punjabi and Urdu speaking officers. Both the officers and men of the recently organised Mujahid Army come mainly from among Urdu-speaking refugees.

It is now clear to East Pakistanis that the ruling clique in the West is pursuing the colonialist policy of refusing to arm them, lest they should, some time in the future, choose to challenge Pindi's overlordship.

The present Indo-Pak conflict has plunged the

little to counter the communal frenzy Pindi has sought to arouse.

What is the outcome of all these tragic developments? Among the awakened sections of East Pakistan's population at least there is growing realisation that Pindi's much-vaunted military prowess is a broken reed the reverses suffered in the recent hostilities have established that beyond peradventure. The security of the eastern wing can no longer be guaranteed by Pakistan's armed might. People have come increasingly to be persuaded that the integrity of their territory and its prosperity must, in the last analysis, depend on India's goodwill.

When this realisation forced upon them, the people of East Pakistan have begun to speculate on Indian intentions anxiously and fearfully. They are eager to break away from the octopus hold of the colonialist Pindi regime. At the same time, however, they are determined to preserve their freedom to shape their own destiny.

Progressive leaders in the eastern wing feel that the Indo-Pak war has given them a revolutionary opportunity. But they ask themselves in some bewilderment whether India will respect and protect their sovereignty and honour. Once full freedom has been assured they want to establish with India relations in consonance with mutual self-respect and mutual advantage."

East Pakistanis are concerned. Having themselves been denied the right of self-determination, the people of this region are indifferent to Pindi's agitation over Kashmir. The response to the cry for a 'jihad' over Kashmir has been very poor indeed. The Opposition parties and the students particularly, treat the efforts of Mr. Monem Khan, East Pakistan Governor, and Mr. Sabur, a Central Minister, to whip up anti-Indian feelings with cynical contempt. Even Maulana Bhasani who in his new-found admiration for Communist China had been trying, with the help of his Communist followers, to rally support for the Ayub regime, has had to abandon his campaign in sheer despair. The resistance offered by other elements of the National Awami Party was too much for him.

The worst victims of the wave of oppression now sweeping East Pakistan are the minorities. Hundreds from among the minority communities have been arrested; almost every important concern owned by Hindus has been taken over by the Government. In the name of defence, Hindu homes have been pillaged by hooligans, aided and abetted by over-zealous Government officials. Agents of the Ayub regime are making every effort, besides, to inflame communal passions.

Help To Minorities

In these trying times, the only relieving feature is the help voluntarily extended to members of the minority communities by the Opposition parties and progressive student organisations, who have done not a

Khan, it says, has promised China the use of East Bengal as a base for war against India in return for Chinese military help to get Kashmir by force. PTI"

Ayub also created communal feelings in Pakistan to gain popularity among the muslims. He also chalked out a plan to throw out minority from the Pakistan but all these schemes of Ayub could not convince people of Pakistan. He also ran out in several foreign countries and without adhering on any principles or policy tried to gain support from every country. His plan to gain the support from every country was not only unique but also surprising one. He assured the Western countries that he is a friend of theirs and he is against the communist countries but in the same time he tried to appease a communist country China and assured her that he is allied with her and, therefore, he demanded all sorts of support from China against her enemy. This game of Ayub exposed him in the eyes of foreign countries in a short time. understood the real shape of Ayub and his foreign policy. Now there was no course before Ayub to strengthen the foundation of his Govt. The miserable population and down trodden people of Pakistan inspite of tyranny of Ayub's Govt. raised voice against him. Even some Muslim

"Independent E. Bengal Call Given By Revolutionary Body"

The independent East Bengal Revolutionary council has called on the people of East Bengal to boycott and dissociate themselves from the programmes and activities of the Pakistan Government according to all India Radio. "This, is the first step towards freedom from tyrannical rule."

The call has been made in a pamphlet issued by the Council and smuggled out of East Pakistan.

The pamphlet says that East Pakistan has been reduced to slavery and is not an equal partner in Pakistan. East Pakistanis are in a majority in the country but have no say in the administration of even their own province. Their position has been reduced to that of second class citizens as a result of collusion between industrialists and business magnates of West Pakistan and the Pakistan Government.

About Kashmir, the pamphlet says that the people of East Bengal are not interested in the issue. This problem is being used by President Ayub Khan's Government to strengthen politically the position of West Pakistanis.

The pamphlet speaks of a secret alliance between the Pakistan Government and China. President Ayub

own traditions, common culture, common language and common civilization. To divide countries on the basis of religion in the modern civilised world is not only foolish & fanatics but against the civilization of Modern progressive society. If India and Pakistan are not united, hostility and conflict between India and Pakistan can never come to an end. Pakistan if remains separate country, shall always harp the bogey of the two Nations theory and shall always try to burn the flames of communalism and religious ill will against India.

“Pakistan Is Poison

Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Dewana, a staunch Congressman, who was the only Muslim of this district to refuse to go to Pakistan after partition, died at Khanna last night after a protracted illness. He was 56.

Shortly before his death, he said he would like to appeal to all people, and Muslims in particular, to remain solidly united and fight Pakistan or any other enemy of India,

Mr. Dewana went to jail a number of times during the freedom movement. On January 26, 1932 when the

league leaders and staunch followers of Mr. Jinha including Fatima Jinha real sister of Mohd. Ali Jinha began to denounce the selfish and self seeking policy of Ayub and Bhutto and they raised their voices against these two leaders who were dreaming to become the rulers of Pakistan for ever. Therefore, due to this fear of dethroning their 'Gaddi' of rulership, Ayub and Bhutto in utter confusion ordered their army to march inside Kashmir on 5th Aug. '65 and committed a naked aggression to divert the attention of the miserable people of Pakistan from their miseries to war.

No doubt people of Pakistan do not want dictatorship and they are eager to maintain friendly relation with India but Ayub and Bhutto forecasted their dooms if friendly relations between India and Pakistan are restored. Therefore, Ayub-Bhutto are trying their best to mislead the people of Pakistan. Ayub declared war against India. Now the only remedy to end the hostility and aggression by Pakistan against India is the removal of artificial barriers between India and Pakistan. Pakistan is a part of India for which no power of world can deny, and it has every right to merge with India in view of its

Indo-Pakistan conflict and the problem underlying it. And it is almost certain that if such a amplified approach is applied to Indo-Pakistan problems and an attempt is made to impose a solution of the Kashmir problem on India and Pakistan, it will only harm Indo Pakistan relations. There can be no solution of the Kashmir question today which will not leave a deep sense of injury in the minds of India or of Pakistan or both. If, however, the spirit of the UN resolution is more important than its letters, and if the great powers are now convinced that what is necessary is not merely to devise an acceptable solution of the Kashmir problem but also to bring the two countries closer. The present conflict may well become a turning point in the history of relations between India and Pakistan.

That Kashmir is not the political problem which underlies the conflict between India and Pakistan is not merely a matter of an Indian assertion or of an intuitive feeling in this country that even if India were to fully satisfy Pakistan on the Kashmir question there will be no improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations. It should be clear to any objective student of the affairs of the sub-continent, before and after partition, that what divides the two states is something deeper and less tangible than a question like Kashmir; the bases of Indo-Pakistan conflict lie elsewhere than in the Kashmir problem.

Pakistan's Hostility

It is important to remember the chronology of

Congress was declared unlawful he carried the Congress flag and marched into Chura bazar, alone. He was beaten to a state of unconsciousness by the police. As fellow Muslims migrated to Pakistan in 1947 he told them: "Pakistan is the poison of communalism. I would prefer to die in India than rot in a theocratic state".

Mr. Siser Gupta has written following articles for the real cause of war.

“The Real Causes Of War Pakistan Policy Of Hate

By Siser K. Gupta (Research Secretary, Indian Council of World Affairs.)

The resolution of the Security council calling for end of hostilities between India and Pakistan and withdrawal of armed personnel to the positions held on August 5, 1965, also mentioned the need to tackle the political problem underlying the conflict.

It is the view of some who tried to become conversant with Indo Pakistan affairs in recent years without caring to understand the deeper roots of the problem between India and Pakistan, that it is the so-called Kashmir problem which divides the two countries and that if the Kashmir question is resolved India and Pakistan will automatically come closer to each other. This is a gross over simplification of

completion of the constitutional process that has been set in motion for the implementation of HMG's June 3 Plan, the present relationship established between the two would find consummation in the establishment of closer diplomatic and commercial bonds to the advantage of both."

"Guarantee"

THE Quid-e-Azam had earlier assured the Indian states that any of them, irrespective of their location to the composition, of their population could join Pakistan or remain independent and Pakistan would support them in either case. Two days after the statement by Jinnah qualifying his stand on the states, the Dawn had written in an editorial (June 19;1947); "As for as Pakistan is concerned, the Quid-e-Azam's statement gives ample guarantee to the states that their independence and integrity will be respected. The contrast between the attitude of the Muslim League and the Congress in this matter is so striking and the promise of non intervention so reassuring that we would not be surprised if a number of even none Muslim states decide eventually either to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or enter into closer treaty relations with Pakistan than with Hindustan. As autonomous members of the Union of Pakistan or as allies of Pakistan, the Indian states, whether Muslim or Hindu, will have a more honourable position than otherwise. As for the Congress threats we have no doubt that Hyderabad and Travancore will firmly stand up to it

events from June 3, 1947 (when the partition scheme was accepted and it became known that Pakistan would come into being) to October 22, 1947 (when armed tribesmen and Pakistani nationals, backed by Pakistani troops, invaded Kashmir). Kashmir, it must be remembered, was not the first bone of contention between India and Pakistan and the question came up only weeks after other evidence had started piling up of a Pakistan policy of hostility towards India. Towards the end of June, 1947 Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan acting on behalf of the new state, carried on negotiations with the Diwan of Travancore CP. Ramaswami Iyer, and it was announced that the states of Pakistan and Travancore would exchange ambassadors. Travancore had earlier refused to join the Indian Constituent Assembly, because her "leaders had at this critical juncture in world history established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic." (Statement by CP Ramaswami Iyer. July 6, 1947). After the announcement of exchange of representatives, the Muslim League daily Dawn wrote in relation under the title "Happy Augury" (June 23, 1947): "It is the decision of a Hindu State...to be the first to establish friendly relationship with the Dominion of Pakistan. Similarly there is a more earnest desire to be friend in the decision of the Qaide-Azam to receive a Travancore envoy than would ordinarily be indicated by the mere acceptance by one state of another's representative. It may be hoped that when the picture of a sovereign Pakistan and an independent Travancore emerges more fully and completely as a result of the

remained that the Muslim League had achieved only a moth-eaten Pakistan and a grave sense of injury was registered in the minds of the leaders of Pakistan.

The frustration and disappointment now found expression in the attempts by Pakistan to limit the size and status of India and bring it to a level of parity with Pakistan through the balkanisation of the Indian states, it should be remembered that the Muslim League movement in India was not a movement based in the region now constituting Pakistan; nor was its purpose to achieve autonomy or independence for these regions alone. The Muslim League movement in India was fundamentally a movement of the Muslim minority areas-areas which were to be left back in India after the creation of Pakistan. If the separation of Pakistan from India was in the nature of the separation of Burma from India there would hardly have been any problem left. To the leaders of Pakistan, who essentially represented their constituencies in the Muslim minority areas, the problem was not one of consolidating Pakistan but of balkanising India.

Not only have problems like Kashmir cropped up in the relations between India and Pakistan, but in the subsequent years there has been a persistent pattern of a relationship of conflict, rivalry and jealousy. To the age-old status conflict between the Muslim League and the Congress was added the additional factor for Pakistan to achieve a national identity in anti-Indian terms. The geographical absurdity of Pakistan with 5 per cent of its population living 1,000 miles away from

and refuse to be bullied and their example should hearten others who have not yet made up their minds." The first governor-General of Pakistan had offered a blank cheque to the ruler of Jodhpur to dissuade him from joining India. The open support and encouragement given to Hyderabad to remain independent and develop collaboration with Pakistan is also well known. In a statement from Bhopal issued in May, 1947 a prominent leader of the Muslim League, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman had urged the state Muslim League to resist the imposition of an Indian centred authority on Bhopal.

It would thus be seen that Pakistan's major interest in this period was not in the consolidation of what constituted Pakistan, including the states within the geographical boundary of the new Dominion but to prevent the consolidation of India and balkanise it by encouraging rulers—Hindus and Muslims alike—to remain independent or to join Pakistan.

Rural Slum.

It should be noted that for the All-India Muslim League, the partition scheme of June, 1947, was not agreeable but only acceptable. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was virtually offered in 1944 what he really achieved as Pakistan in 1947. He had then rejected it as a moth-eaten Pakistan which would remain a 'rural slum', in 1947, the Muslim League had lesser manoeuvrability in negotiating a deal, but nevertheless the feeling

but the urgent need and the declared goal has been to cut down the size and status of that neighbour. Pakistan since 1947 has been one of the most virulent anti status quo powers of Asia and it has also believed that the status quo in this part of Asia can be undone only through power and force. After 1954 it began to acquire through Americanised military assistance a highly mechanised armed force. To the traditional belief in many quarters that India could not fight was added the growing confidence in Pakistan's military strength and capabilities. Particularly when Pakistan thought that it had achieved the remarkable feat of working out close collaboration with China, without greatly harming its relations with Western powers, the feeling grew, as is evident from the Foreign Minister Bhutto, that at last the time had come for Pakistan to confront India with its power (behind which the power of China would line up) and the expectation was that faced with this confrontation, India would at least have to concede Pakistan's demands on her territory.

The conflict between India and Pakistan, which has just been brought to an end by the United Nations Security Council may or may not prove to be a climactic event; if it does, like all climactic changes, it will alter the Pattern of India Pakistan relations. But it can be realised that the India-Pakistan conflict was over Kashmir but the consistent hate-India campaign was the harm-India policy of Pakistan."

the centre divided by Indian territory, has made it imperative for the leaders of Pakistan to make anti-Indian sentiments the binding factor between the two constituent units of the State. While the two states started in 1947 with some fundamental areas of disagreement like the one regarding the role of religion in politics and nationhood, they had also large areas of agreement particularly in regard to political democracy and foreign policy. Over the years, these areas of agreement have evaporated and Pakistan and India now represent two entirely different models in domestic and foreign policies. What is more, in the pursuit of its conflict with India, Pakistan has chosen to be friend any force in the world which appeared sufficiently anti Indian to Pakistan. It has in fact chosen to become a projection of any country or force in the world which has regarded India as its enemy with a hundred million people Pakistan is still possessed with its smallness and instead of aspiring for a role which a country like Pakistan deserves in world affairs, it has always regarded itself as too small to get rid of close alliances, military and political directed against India.

Serious Aspect

WHAT has been the most serious aspect of the situation from India's viewpoint is that these alliances were never defensive in nature. Pakistan has not been concerned only with its defence and security, its problems of living in peace with a greater neighbour,

reaction in the minds of people of India against this policy of British Govt; and now public opinion in India is very strong for terminating of relation of India with common-wealth.

India also supported Indonesia when she was waging war for her independence against her foreign rulers. India gave every sort of support to Indonesia in her freedom struggle, but Indonesia was so ungrateful that she stabbed in the back of India at the time of conflict between India & Pakistan. No doubt reason for this was that the leaders of Indonesia who are rulers of present regime, have no confidence of their people. Masses of Indonesia are opposing the present rulers with their tooth and knees, but they have been ruthlessly crushed with bullets and banets. In such short period of independence of Indonesia people have revolted several times against the tyrannical regime. People as well as rulers of Indonesia are so much demoralised that no country in the world has any respect for this country. Now this country has been isolated because it has severed its relation from the U. N. O. also in utter confusion and frustration.

Role of British govt. was also partial. In the present conflict B. B. C. played a very bad role & indirectly supported Pak aggression. The reason was this that Pakistan is the creation of British rule in India, therefore, Britain was partial in the present conflict. There is a great

against Indians in Security Council. No representative of a civilised country can utter such words in a civilized society, even scoundrals and rascals cannot use such language as was used by Mr. Bhutto. No doubt it is a matter of shame that the big powers did not raise the point of decorum & allowed and remained silent.

Thus the National decorum, & National character of Pakistan under the guidance of war mongers, who can use filthiest language in a world organisation like Security Council has suffered. This sort of speech which he delivered in the month of October in Security Council does not require any further proof for aggressive design and hate India campaign of Pakistan. No peace is possible in the sub-continent till Pakistan is ruled by war mongers like Bhutto and Ayub who are creating war hysteria in Pakistan against India to divert the attention of their miserable and down trodden people from their miserable conditions. The aim of these leaders is nothing but to achieve their selfish end on the cost of the Pakistani people.

"Most Coward Man On Earth

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto foreign minister of Pakistan pushed Pakistan in war against India needs some introduction for his previous life, he was a son of a capitalist Dewan of Junagarh State and when people of Junagarh gave their verdict for the merger of their State in India. Mr Z. A. Bhutto heard some rumour that some persons of Indian Army reached Junagarh. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto became so nervous that without getting confirmation of this news fled away to Pakistan from his house, leaving his son uncared. But India Government was so generous that she gave protection to his child & sent the child to Mr. Bhutto in Pakistan. No such coward person was ever born on earth.

Really it is a matter of great surprise and shame that a person like Mr. Bhutto boast for his bravery, when even the most coward person on earth shall not throw his minor children in danger to save his own life, as Mr. Bhutto did.

Mr. Bhutto has lowered the National character of Pakistan in the eyes of world powers, recently uttering non-sense words

against Indians in Security Council. No representative of a civilised country can utter such words in a civilized society, even scoundrals and rascals cannot use such language as was used by Mr. Bhutto. No doubt it is a matter of shame that the big powers did not raise the point of decorum & allowed and remained silent.

Thus the National decorum, & National character of Pakistan under the guidance of war mongers, who can use filthiest language in a world organisation like Security Council, has suffered. This sort of speech which he delivered in the month of October in Security Council does not require any further proof, for aggressive design and hate India campaign of Pakistan. No peace is possible in the sub-continent till Pakistan is ruled by war mongers like Bhutto and Ayub who are creating war hysteria in Pakistan against India to divert the attention of their miserable and down-trodden people from their miserable conditions. The aim of these leaders is nothing but to achieve their selfish end on the cost of the Pakistani people.

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cant's parents resided in Karachi and the applicant's place there from these circumstances alone it could not be concluded that the applicant's home was also in Karachi at any relevant time"

Mr. Bhutto appealed to the custodian General again in January 1956 "that the learned custodian erred in holding that the applicant's residence or domicile was the domicile of his parents."

He averred that he went to the united states in September 1947 on an Indian passport. Again in 1949 he visited Karachi on the same passport, Mr Bhutto declared.

Mr. Bhutto maintained that after obtaining majority he had never accepted Karachi as his domicile. But Mr. Bhutto, a "humble petitioner" as he wrote in his last appeal withdrew all his applications in 1958 when he became Pakistan's Commerce Minister.

"Bhutto's Nine-Year Fight For Indian Citizenship

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO, Foreign Minister of Pakistan fought for acquiring Indian citizenship for nine years before the Custodian General of Bombay, the Punjab High Court and the Supreme Court.

Mr. Bhutto's contention before Indian courts was that he was not a national of Pakistan at the same time he had filed an application in Pakistan, claiming that he was an evacuee from India and that his deposit with the Bombay High Court be refunded.

However, in November 1958, when Mr. Bhutto filed a petition in the Supreme Court of India saying he had settled down in Pakistan and that his earlier appeal be dismissed as withdrawn, the court granted his prayer and passed an order accordingly.

Mr. Bhutto and his parents were residents of Bombay at the time of Partition and owned property there. Mr. Bhutto was declared an evacuee in July 1949 by the deputy custodian and his property was taken over as evacuee property.

From the extracts of the petitions made before the deputy custodian, Mr. Bhutto maintained that he was an Indian national and that he was "not residing in Karachi." He deposed that merely because the appli-